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Earl Warren Oral History Project

EARL WARREN AS EXECUTIVE:
SOCIAL WELFARE AND STATE PARKS

Charles Irwin Schottland:	State Director of Social Welfare, 1950-54
Newton B. Drury:	A Conservationist Comments on Earl Warren and Harold Ickes

Interviews Conducted by
Rosemary Levenson
Amelia R. Fry

Copy No. 1

PREFACE

The Earl Warren Oral History Project, a special project of the Regional Oral History Office, was inaugurated in 1969 to produce tape-recorded interviews with persons prominent in the arenas of politics, governmental administration, and criminal justice during the Warren Era in California. Focusing on the years 1925-1953, the interviews were designed not only to document the life of Chief Justice Warren but to gain new information on the social and political changes of a state in the throes of a depression, then a war, then a postwar boom.

An effort was made to document the most significant events and trends by interviews with key participants who spoke from diverse vantage points. Most were queried on the one or two topics in which they were primarily involved; a few interviewees with special continuity and breadth of experience were asked to discuss a multiplicity of subjects. While the cut-off date of the period studied was October 1953, Earl Warren's departure for the United States Supreme Court, there was no attempt to end an interview perfunctorily when the narrator's account had to go beyond that date in order to complete the topic.

The interviews have stimulated the deposit of Warreniana in the form of papers from friends, aides, and the opposition; government documents; old movie newsreels; video tapes; and photographs. This Earl Warren collection is being added to The Bancroft Library's extensive holdings on twentieth century California politics and history.

The project has been financed by four outright grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, a one year grant from the California State Legislature through the California Heritage Preservation Commission, and by gifts from local donors which were matched by the Endowment. Contributors include the former law clerks of Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Cortez Society, many long-time supporters of "the Chief," and friends and colleagues of some of the major memoirists in the project. The Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Foundation and the San Francisco Foundation have jointly sponsored the Northern California Negro Political History Series, a unit of the Earl Warren Project.

Particular thanks are due the Friends of The Bancroft Library who were instrumental in raising local funds for matching, who served as custodian for all such funds, and who then supplemented from their own treasury all local contributions on a one-dollar-for-every-three dollars basis.

The Regional Oral History Office was established to tape record autobiographical interviews with persons prominent in the history of California and the West. The Office is under the administrative supervision of James D. Hart, Director of The Bancroft Library.

Amelia R. Fry, Director
Earl Warren Oral History Project

Willa K. Baum, Department Head
Regional Oral History Office

30 June 1976
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EARL WARREN ORAL HISTORY PROJECT
(California, 1926-1953)

Interviews Completed - June 1977

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Henderson, Betty Foot, *Secretary to Two Warrens.*

Swig, Benjamin H., *Shared Social Concerns.*

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Richman, Martin F., *Law Clerk for Chief Justice Warren, 1956-57.*

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Schottland, Charles I., *State Director of Social Welfare, 1950-54.*

EARL WARREN ORAL HISTORY PROJECT
(California, 1926-1953)

Interviews in Process - June 1977

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Brown, Edmund G. (Pat)
Carter, Oliver [deceased]
Gordon, Walter [deceased]
Kenny, Robert [deceased]
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Warren, James, *Recollections of the Eldest Warren Son*
Warren, Nina (Honeybear) [Mrs. Stuart Brien]
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Adams, Earl
Crocker, Roy
Day, Roy
Dinkelspeil, J. S.
Hansen, Victor
Jorgenson, Frank
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Earl Warren Oral History Project

Charles Irwin Schottland
STATE DIRECTOR OF SOCIAL WELFARE, 1950-54

An Interview Conducted by
Rosemary Levenson



Charles I. Schottland

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INTERVIEW HISTORY

Charles Schottland was president of Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts, when he agreed to spare the time to be interviewed about his services to California as State Director of Social Welfare. The manuscript, however, covers much more than this. Mr. Schottland is a qualified social worker and lawyer and has practiced both professions. In addition he has taught at several universities and has published scholarly books and articles. From an early age, he has held responsible administrative positions in private, state, and federal agencies, leaving government service after being commissioner for Social Security from 1954-58. For the next ten years, he served as Dean of Social Welfare at Brandeis where he is now a professor on sabbatical leave after four years as president of the university.

The two interviews took place on March 2 and March 6, 1972, in the president's office, a spacious and comfortable room looking over a snow-covered campus. There were plenty of books and on one wall a row of signed photographs of Mr. Schottland's distinguished bosses including Earl Warren and President Eisenhower. Interruptions occurred but were kept to a minimum.

The first session was at 8 a.m. and I arrived in an apprehensive state as my plane had been delayed and I had had barely two hours sleep. But many factors combined to make the interview enjoyable and stimulating. Mr. Schottland has an easy and informal manner; he was in command of the material covered by our agenda and quick of wit and response to the spontaneous questions which arose in the course of our discussions. After nearly four hours, I suggested that Mr. Schottland might be tired or have other demands on his time. He said, "No, I'm thoroughly enjoying this. I never get a chance to talk like this about myself!" A second session four days later completed the interview.

Mr. Schottland's career looks miraculously meteoric. The interview reveals some of the secrets; intelligence and very hard work got Mr. Schottland part of the way. The "secret ingredient" shows up in some of the stories--care taken not to damage other people's reputations, a keen political sense, and a sense of humor. How did Mr. Schottland eradicate juvenile

delinquency from Boyle Heights? See pp. 4-5. How were 1200 corneal transplants done free in the 1950's without evoking the cry of "socialized medicine"? See pp. 63-65. How did he avoid sharing a drawing room with Rheba Crawford Splivalo? See p. 9.

The years 1950-54 when Mr. Schottland was California's Director of Social Welfare were times when many of the problems of Social Welfare came into sharp focus for the first time. California was faced with an enormous increase in population due to the influx of workers to wartime industries, immigration from the rest of the country and abroad, and a baby boom. The strains that this growth put on all areas of government were felt with the greatest immediacy in the Social Welfare and Education Departments. In Social Welfare, the situation was aggravated by the passage and repeal of Proposition 2 (1948 and 1949) which first turned many welfare responsibilities over to the counties; when it was repealed a year later, these reverted to the state.

Mr. Schottland was concerned with improving the state/county relationship; he established excellent relationships with the legislature through a technique combining firmness, humor and excellent homework. His background in federal agencies helped him to ease relationships with federal welfare departments such as the Children's Bureau.

Mr. Schottland saw Governor Warren frequently, sometimes several times a week. He judges that the basis for Warren's policy decisions was "his fundamental belief in people and the fact that in American democracy everyone was entitled to a decent standard or level of living...he always had a gut feeling that was right...He didn't compromise on legislation because it was the right political thing to do. He always tried to figure out what was right."

The interviews were transcribed and arranged in topical order. The transcript was then sent to Mr. Schottland who returned it with a few very minor changes.

Rosemary Levenson
Interviewer

6 November 1972
Regional Oral History Office
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University of California at Berkeley

I BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE

Family Background and Education

Levenson: Will you start by telling me something about your background?

Schottland: I was born in Chicago, October 29, 1906. I must have been a very bright baby, because at the age of two I decided to move to Los Angeles! So I grew up in California, went to school there, graduated from UCLA [University of California, Los Angeles] in 1927.

Levenson: What did your father do?

Schottland: He was a tailor, an immigrant from Poland, and he was a tailor working always in big factories at a machine.

Levenson: And your mother, was she from Poland too?

Schottland: My mother was born in New York City, and she worked as an extra in the movies--fairly steady employment for an extra. She's still alive, by the way. She's eighty-five. Although she has bad arthritis, she's still very mentally alert. My father died at age seventy-nine.

Levenson: That's wonderful.

Schottland: He came over at the age of about fourteen or fifteen. Completely uneducated, but very well-read and spoke English without the slightest trace of an accent.

Levenson: That's very unusual.

Schottland: Yes, he couldn't speak a word of English when he landed, and took English lessons and had a good instructor, apparently, who worked with him on his accent. My mother tells me that by the time he was twenty-one or twenty-two he had no trace of an accent whatsoever. She was very conscious of accent, being a young New York girl whose parents didn't speak English. She wasn't going to marry anyone with an accent. But he had no trace of an accent whatsoever.

Levenson: Was there enough money for you to go to college without any serious problems?

Schottland: No there wasn't. They didn't give me any. I worked my way through. I had a number of jobs. After the first year, I was a reader of examination papers for several classes. I got paid sixty cents an hour. That was a lot of money in those days. Then on the weekends, I did what they called stuffing newspapers. The older presses would print the sections separately, and then they had to be put together, and we got paid so much per hundred for putting them together. This was for the Sunday edition. So for forty-eight hours prior to Sunday, we were stuffing newspapers. We'd get snatches of sleep. It was very, very hard work, but very lucrative. So, I worked my way through college, actually contributing a little to the family.

The family was very poor. My father's earnings were very, very small, and my mother's earnings were intermittent as an extra in the movies. But we got along. Today, with the definitions of poverty, we would have been in the poverty group.

Levenson: Was your family religious?

Schottland: Not very. My father would go to the synagogue on the High Holydays, and I went to Hebrew school to get confirmed.

Levenson: Were you Reform?

Schottland: No, we were Orthodox. It was a barmitzvah, but not very religious. It was one of those usual things--my father would go to synagogue on the High Holydays.

Levenson: You didn't keep kosher?

Schottland: And neither did my family. They have ham and bacon and other things. But, he did like to go on the High Holydays from his early training.

Entry into Social Work

Levenson: What did you major in at UCLA?

Schottland: I majored in political science. I had intended to be a lawyer. As I grew up I got interested in social work. We lived in what was then the first Jewish ghetto in Los Angeles--Temple Street, which is now not a Jewish neighborhood. An organization called the Jewish Big Brothers Association, which is still in existence in Los Angeles--I spoke at their annual meeting a few weeks ago--and they organized a boys' club to get these poor Jewish boys off the street. I was a member of the club at about ten or eleven years of age. It was called the Waldemar Club after two leaders, Eugene Waldeck and Ernest Armer. Both these men became very prominent in the community in later life. Eugene Waldeck I think is still alive; he was an insurance man and related to the Hellman family, which was one of the rich families of the community. They started the Bank of America, which later merged with the Bank of Italy. A.P. Gianinni took over. The Hellmans were out.

Ernest Armer later became president of Cohn-Goldwater Company, which manufactured overalls and Palmdale shirts and other things. He died.

So, I became interested in social work from this club, and, incidentally, many members of the club are today prominent citizens in the community.

Schottland: The present director of the Jewish Federation in Los Angeles was a member. Many lawyers--Moe Kudler, a prominent businessman today, Joe Orloff, a lawyer, David Marcus, a very prominent society dentist in the Beverly Hills area. They were all members of this club. All very poor boys from very poor families.

So I got interested in social work, and six months before I graduated, I took a job with the Jewish Big Brothers Association as a caseworker. Then I went on full-time in June of '27, when I graduated. Then I applied for and got a scholarship to the graduate school for Jewish Social Work in New York City, and I was there '28 and '29. I returned in September, '29 to become the director of the Modern Social Center, which was the beginning of the Jewish Centers Association of Los Angeles.

A National Reputation at Twenty-Three

Schottland: I got a national reputation through a complete fluke that I was too young to know how to handle. I became director of this Modern Social Center in the Boyle Heights area--this was in the East Side--the newer Jewish ghetto that had developed in the east side. It was one of the high delinquency areas in the city, and overnight it went down to one of the lowest. Newspapers got very excited, the United States Children's Bureau got excited, and that's how I came to the attention of the United States Children's Bureau, and it affected my whole career.

Everybody played up that this young fellow had come to the Heights and started this community center and the delinquency rate went down. I was then, let's see, twenty-three years of age, and I didn't know how to handle it without destroying everything that we were building. I didn't want to tell a lie, and I just felt I couldn't afford to tell the truth. The fact remains that I had made an arrangement with the precinct police captain that all first offenders should be referred

Schottland: to the Center and not arrested and booked. He thought it was a good idea, and since most juvenile delinquents are first offenders, and they don't repeat a second time, the delinquency went way down to nothing! It had no relationship to real overt acts. It was just a gimmick.

But the Children's Bureau came to study our methods.

Levenson: What did you tell them?

Schottland: I told the Children's Bureau the truth, but I didn't tell the reporters. I told them about our Center. I couldn't tell the reporters, because the police would be involved, and they might have said, "OK, from now on we book everybody."

Then a second thing I did was quite accidental. The whole staff consisted of myself, a janitor, and a secretary. We had some 1200 dues-paying kids, who were in over seventy clubs, and I had them run by volunteers. Today, that size center would have fifteen or twenty professional staff. And I'd been a caseworker for the Jewish Big Brothers, so I got the idea, which I thought was original, of having the volunteers keep case records of the groups. I didn't know it was being done in many other places. Well, the Children's Bureau got interested in the case records. So, for a second reason they sent people out to study our case records methods. So I became very well known to the Washington people and the Children's Bureau because of these two things.

Levenson: In your early twenties.

Schottland: Yes, one was a kind of a fake and the other was an interesting thing.

Levenson: Haven't you skipped something? I don't know how you did it all, but didn't you get your law qualification at this time?

Schottland: Yes, my hours at the Center were one o'clock in the afternoon until midnight, six days a week,

Schottland: so I went to law school in the morning. I never was terribly interested in practicing law. I wanted it for social legislation. But I always thought it was the second string in my bow, so I went to get it.

Levenson: At the University of Southern California?

Schottland: Yes. And kept a close relationship with that law school since. Just last year they made me an honorary member of the Coif, that's the honorary law fraternity, at the commencement exercises.

The Depression: Work for the State Relief Administration

Schottland: When the Depression hit, we started the State Relief Administration--California was very hard hit by the Depression. It came a little later than in the east, but it was really catastrophic--tremendous unemployment. People on relief from middle and upper middle class families. In the middle of it, everything conspired to make California in very bad shape. In the east side, [of Los Angeles] where I had my center, banks closed and didn't reopen after the Bank Holiday.

When [Franklin Delano] Roosevelt came in as president the banks in well over thirty states had already closed, and he closed the rest of them, the National Bank Holiday. There was a bank called Bank of the United States and they didn't open in Boyle Heights after the Bank Holiday. Then the country had its worst drought in history, and the Colorado River dried up for the first time in history. So, everything was just terrible in California.

Just to give you an example of how terrible it was. There was a big earthquake, the Long Beach Earthquake, in 1934 or '35. We tore down something like 150 school and other public buildings. We rebuilt them with relief labor,

Schottland: and every person working on those projects, from top architects and engineers to electricians, carpenters, and common laborers came from the relief rolls. Incredible today.

So, it was a very bad time.

. I had known through my work a woman by the name of Helen Montegriffo. Helen became one of the top officials of the newly-organized State Relief Administration, which Harry [L.] Hopkins was organizing all over the United States. And she asked me if I would be interested in becoming a field representative of the State Relief Administration. So I did. I resigned my job because it seemed to me this was the big, up and coming thing in America--the public welfare program, and that I ought to get into it as a youngster. So, I became the regional representative for Southern California outside of Los Angeles. I rose in the State Relief Administration, and after two or three promotions, became deputy director to a man who was a kind of a genius, Frank McLaughlin.

Frank was an engineer. He'd gotten the job through influence with Ernest Gruening of Alaska, the former senator, now the big ecologist--who came in to see me yesterday, by the way. He is eighty-four or eighty-five, something like that, and he's campaigning for [George Stanley] McGovern here in Massachusetts.

Ernest Gruening was then Secretary of the Interior, under the New Deal. And Frank McLaughlin came in as state administrator of the California Relief program, and made me his deputy. Frank was a very imaginative engineer, and conceived the project of the garage under the central plaza in San Francisco--Union Square. This was Frank's concept. He mentioned it one day, when he was a little drunk. Then a few weeks later he said, "Remember when I mentioned that? I thought it was an original idea. I found out that someone else has developed plans to have the garage there, and the plans are about fifteen years old. But, I'm taking the plans and I'm giving him ten percent." I said: "You're giving him ten percent."

Schottland: Ten percent of what?" He said, "Whatever I make out of it."

So he started it, and he got it financed and became the president of the Union Square Garage.

Later, they split the program between WPA, the Works Progress Administration and the state program. The federal government insisted there had to be separation between the federally operated program and the state's.

He recommended to Governor [Frank F.] Merriam, who was the governor, a very conservative Republican, and a very fine human being, and very clever politician of the old school, a wheeler and dealer, that I be appointed. And Hopkins sort of pushed it with the idea that things were in a mess--we did everything over the telephone, and there were no records, and everybody was afraid that if a newcomer came in, things could go awry. I'd been running the show, so they thought I ought to take it over. So he appointed me. As a matter of fact, after my first visit with him--we spent several hours together, and it was just one of those things that click, an older man who liked the idea of this youngster coming on his staff. We became very, very close.

As I was about to leave the old office, which was much larger than this office, I was at the door and he was here, maybe a little further back, and he said, "Hey, wait a minute Schottland, how old are you?" At that time, I was twenty-eight or twenty-nine. I said, "Old enough, governor." He said, "I asked you a question, answer it." So I said, "I'm twenty-eight." He said, "My God, not only am I going to be accused of appointing a Democrat, but I'm going to be accused of appointing someone who's not even dry behind the ears yet! Good day."

But we became very close friends, and when I resigned to become the Executive Director of the Federation of Jewish Welfare Organization, Merriam took me aside and said, "I regret this very much, because I had you in mind to head the

Schottland: welfare department when I combine the welfare department and the State Relief Administration." The welfare department was being run by a famous evangelist, Rheba Crawford Splivalo.

Rheba Crawford Splivalo

Levenson: What can you tell me about Mrs. Splivalo?

Schottland: Oh, I knew her very well. She was a real dame. She would come to a meeting of men with a silk dress on without anything underneath it, and she would throw her sex around. She was very attractive. She used to occupy Aimee Semple McPherson's pulpit.

One day I made the mistake of going to hear her, and she spotted me in the audience, and she called out and made me come on stage.

Levenson: What did you have to do when you got on stage?

Schottland: Oh, she just had me join hands with everybody else, and we were swinging hands, singing some religious songs. [Laughter]

She was a real character. Once I had to go down from San Francisco to Los Angeles, and I couldn't get a plane reservation. Planes were not too frequent in those days. I went down by train and I didn't have a berth. It looked as if I were going to have to stay up all night. And she came into the smoking car and saw me, and sat down and she said, "What car are you in?" I said, "I don't have a berth yet. The conductor is looking for one. I hope I get one; I don't want to stay up all night." She said, "Well I have a drawing room here, and you're perfectly welcome to use one of the berths, that is if you're not afraid of a scandal. I'm not." I said, "Well, Rheba, I am afraid of a scandal. Let's just let it go." [Laughter]

But she was a real dame. She tried to steal Aimee Semple McPherson's pulpit from her, but

- Schottland: Aimee was also a smart operator. But she [Splivalo] wrecked the state welfare department. Because of the antagonism of the legislature to her, they reduced the grant to the state welfare department to the point where it was very serious.
- Levenson: Did Merriam appoint her?
- Schottland: I don't know whether he appointed her or whether she was appointed by [James, Jr.] Rolph, the former incumbent. I don't remember.
- Levenson: It sounds like a strange appointment for a shrewd politician to have made.
- Schottland: It may have been Rolph, who had been mayor of San Francisco, and became governor before Merriam.

Hearst Press Attacks on Governor Merriam and Schottland

- Schottland: Merriam was a very shrewd politician. He was being attacked by William Randolph Hearst--vicious attacks. He suddenly announced he was running for president of the United States. Everybody thought that was the most foolish thing in the world; he wouldn't even get three votes. At that time Hearst was promoting [Alfred M.] Landon of Kansas for president, so Merriam made a deal with Hearst, that he would withdraw and Hearst would stop his attacks. At least, this was the rumor. At any rate, they ran a Landon-Hearst-Merriam ticket for the delegates and Hearst stopped his attacks.

Incidentally, before I leave the State Relief Administration, I was viciously attacked by the Hearst newspapers too. What happened was, I fired the director of San Francisco's State Relief Administration, and he happened to be a very close friend of William Randolph Hearst, and Hearst gave the orders to the San Francisco Examiner to get me.

Levenson: Why did you fire him?

Schottland: For incompetence. And there were other things too, but it was part of the incompetence. No straight dishonesty or anything. The newspaper started a very vicious attack. First they started attacking communists on relief in SRA-- we were taking care of communists on relief. I said we were taking care of everybody who was poor, and some of them might have been communists.

Then they talked about a brain trust that was controlling the SRA, and I was chairman of the brain trust. What it was was our staff meeting--we met every morning, and naturally I was chairman--I presided. I was first deputy and later the administrator. But it was just our regular staff meeting. But the most important thing about the "brain trust" was that it was headed by someone from Los Angeles, and in those days the San Francisco-Los Angeles controversy was much more bitter than it is today. And that was pretty serious--to have a Los Angeles person head an organization headquartered in San Francisco! And he fired the San Francisco director. Although they never mentioned my firing him in the attacks. Then the reporter slipped, and he talked about a communist brain trust in the State Relief Administration.

Then I called up the publisher of the San Francisco Examiner. And I said, "I want to thank you for your article today in which you called me a communist, because I'm now going to sue you." And there had just been a case where someone got a big recovery for being called a communist. That was considered real slander. He said, "We never called you a communist." I said, "You read your column. You've been talking about me as chairman of a brain trust, and now you talk about a communist brain trust. There can be only one interpretation that the courts are going to hold." He said, "Let's talk it over." So, we entered into an agreement that they would stop the attacks, and although they couldn't praise me in the Examiner, they would praise me in the Call-Bulletin, which was one of the Hearst chain. So, I got a very good editorial in the Call-Bulletin

Schottland: about how I had voluntarily reduced my salary, because we had to have a salary reduction, and I took the leadership. So it stopped the attacks.

Lawrence Arnstein, "Mr. Public Health" and
Medical Clinics

Schottland: Now, the man who was really the great lobbyist for child care is ninety-four or ninety-five years of age, and he's still active, Lawrence Arnstein.*

Levenson: "Mr. Public Health."

Schottland: Yes. Right. He was the great lobbyist. He was quite a guy. He is getting very repetitive and reminiscent. I saw him a few months ago. But still sharp. He was the principal lobbyist of the child care centers. He had the ear of Earl Warren. Warren liked him. We had a close relationship stemming from the depression days, and he had started the medical clinic in San Francisco. Very interesting.

Levenson: The V.D. clinics, were they?

Schottland: No. When I came in as state relief administrator, we were starting a statewide medical plan. I had the idea of starting clinics all over the state. The state medical society opposed it as socialized medicine, and told every physician that if they participated they'd be ruled out of organized medicine. They killed the plan, so we went to a

*Arnstein, Lawrence, "Community Service in California Public Health and Social Welfare," typed transcript of a tape-recorded interview conducted by Edna T. Daniel and Willa K. Baum, University of California General Library Regional Cultural History Project, (Berkeley, 1964) pp. 292 in Bancroft Library.

Schottland: panel plan where individual doctors would handle patients in their offices.

One day my secretary announced that a man insisted on seeing me by the name of Lawrence Arnstein. So in came this little fellow. He said, "I'm interested in the sick poor." I said to myself, "Oh, no, another one of these guys." He said, "I understand you've been stymied in starting medical clinics over the state, and I'd like to start a medical clinic for you in San Francisco." I said, "Just like that?" He said, "Yes, just like that."

I said, "Mr. Arnstein, I don't know you. Who are you, and what's your interest in starting a medical clinic?" He said, "Well, I'm a woolen merchant, and I'm interested in the sick poor. If you want me to start this, I'll start it for you." I said, "Well, are you asking for a job?" He said, "No, I've got plenty of money. I might be considered a wealthy man. I want to do this pro bono publico." I said, "How are you going to do it? The medical association has said that we can't have a clinic here."

He said, "Well, it's a very simple operation. What you do is appoint me chairman of a citizens' committee to establish it, and tell me how much money I have to spend, and presto, it'll be established." I said, "Mr. Arnstein, you're giving me an impossible conclusion as to what's going to happen. I don't even know who you are." He said, "Do you know Dr. [J.C.] Geiger?" who was the public health officer. I said, "Yes, I do." He said, "Call him up and tell him what we've just been talking about."

So I called up Geiger, and I said, "Dr. Geiger, I have someone in here who sounds like a nut, --" (he was sitting right there!) and I told him the whole thing. And Geiger laughed. He said, "If Lawrence Arnstein says he'll do it, he'll do it." So we talked for about an hour and I said, "The amount of money--we've got plenty of money, as long as it's reasonably spent." He said, "OK, I'll work on it, and then we'll get together again."

Schottland: About two weeks later, I pick up the morning newspaper, delivered at the door, I have breakfast in my pajamas, and on the front page--or maybe not the front pages. I don't remember that far back. It's forty years now, or almost, it says, "Administrator Charles I. Schottland announces the appointment of a committee to organize a medical clinic in San Francisco, with Arnstein as the chairman, and the deans of the medical schools of Stanford and Berkeley, and the president of the state medical association," and that they're going to organize this. I call up Arnstein, and I say, "What the hell's this all about?" He says, "Well, didn't you want me to go ahead?" I said, "Yes, but when I appoint people, I like to know who I'm appointing. How did you get these people to agree to serve?" He said, "Well, we're going to fight socialized medicine." I said, "How are you going to fight socialized medicine?" He said, "By organizing this medical clinic." I said, "That's the worst kind of socialized medicine." He said, "Well, that's your opinion, but I've sold it on the idea of fighting socialized medicine."

So this crazy guy got all these conservatives, you see, to start a medical clinic, under government auspices, which was, you know, as radical in those days as it could possibly be--

Levenson: When was this?

Schottland: This was 1935. And we ended up--the only figures I remember was, we had eighty-three doctors, part time, on the staff, some of them taken from relief rolls. Doctors forget these days that they were once on relief, like anyone else, they're so rich now. But at any rate, he got this organized, and it was a top-notch medical program. All the doctors were enthusiastic about it, and they had been hoodwinked, completely, because it was the kind of thing that they were absolutely opposed to. He was just this kind of an innocent operator.

Levenson: Doesn't sound very innocent to me!

Schottland: And everything pro bono publico. He never did a thing for himself. He was just a dedicated human

Schottland: being, in his own little, sort of compulsive way. Have you talked to him?

Levenson: Yes, we've interviewed him.

Schottland: He's a great guy, just a great person. Of course, very old now, but he still plays golf. I don't know how he does it. Last time I saw him he was very unsteady on his feet. But he started this whole thing. And this went on for years.

Levenson: Did the clients pay?

Schottland: No, no. This was all people on relief.

Levenson: And so who paid the doctors?

Schottland: We paid them. The State Relief Administration. They were employees of the state.

Levenson: That's real socialism.

Schottland: Yes, it was much more socialistic than Great Britain's program now, which at least has panel plans. This was straight state medicine.

Levenson: Do you know anything about Arnstein's arrangement to fund the American Social Hygiene groups, the V.D. clinics, through social security?

Schottland: No, I don't know anything about it. I don't see how it could be funded through social security. I don't think it's possible. But I don't know anything about it, unless someone meant by social security, funds that might be available under the Social Security Act. And that would mean probably funds available for child welfare or public assistance. There might have been some possibility of getting money from child welfare grants from the Children's Bureau. There might have been some possibility of getting some funds from Public Assistance for administration of public assistance, where they would contract out for services. Those are possibilities, but I just don't know.

The Children's Bureau, Washington

Schottland: Then I went from there to the Executive Directorship of the Federation of Jewish Welfare organization. I was there from '36 to '41, when Katharine Lenroot, because of my previous contacts with the old Modern Social Center, asked me to come in as Assistant Chief of the Children's Bureau.

Levenson: That was in Washington?

Schottland: Yes, in Washington, in '41 and '42. I didn't stay there very long because the war broke out, and we had a terrible jurisdictional fight over child care over day care centers. The Children's Bureau wanted to operate them. The WPA had money for day care centers and was operating them. The new War Manpower Commission wanted to get things started. The Office of Education wanted in the act, [Paul Vorles] McNutt said, "We'll take charge, and we'll have one coordinator." He'd become acquainted with me and he asked Katharine Lenroot to loan me as the coordinator. She very willingly did, because this meant that a Children's Bureau person would be in at the top in the jurisdictional fight.

As a matter of fact, I have a clipping from Time magazine. The date was about 1941. It says, headed: "Coordinator for Children. If a father and mother both must work to win the war,"--see, we were getting women to go into factories--"someone will have to look after the children. In the war factories alone there are already one million women working, and three million more expected by next year. The children of some of these women have been found locked up in cars, in Washington government offices, or wandering the streets with doorkeys around their necks. Child delinquency in the United States is up sharply. Washington itself has had a wave of juvenile housebreaking and shoplifting.

"Last week, Washington decided it was time to do something about the war-time care of

Schottland: children. Federal security administrator, Paul V. McNutt has appointed a child care coordinator, sandy-haired"--I had hair then--"Charles Irwin Schottland, of Children's Bureau. Mr. Schottland went straight to Mr. McNutt's War Manpower Commission for help--his problem, how to overcome the scarcity of servants and of day nurseries. He also had a plan--let the U.S. make grants to states to finance a variety of child care facilities--" and then went on. And so I was involved in child care.

But at that time, everyone wanted to get into the war, and wanted to get in uniform. It wasn't nice not to be in uniform in those days. This was not Vietnam, this was Germany and everybody was gung ho to beat the Germans. There was great enthusiasm for the war, there was unanimous feeling on the part of everybody. There were a few peaceniks even then--the Quakers--but very few.

So, I wanted to get in, and I got a commission in the Navy, and Paul McNutt came in to see me and said, "What the hell do you think you're doing? I decide who's exempt from military service in the United States." The War Manpower Commission decided which positions were exempt. "Your position is exempt. You're not leaving." So I got very angry and I wouldn't talk to him. I was very lucky, because I would have ended up as a personnel officer on one of the flattops which was sunk. A few weeks later he came into see me and said, "How would you like to go in the Army?" I said, "I'm not interested. I'm going in the Navy as soon as you make it possible for me to do so." He said, "They're starting a school of military government, and they want a welfare officer, and I think you ought to do it." So I started to get interested and went to the School of Military Government.*

* For more on the Children's Bureau 1920-1925, the California State Department of Social Welfare 1928-1931, and the Social Security Board 1935-1948, see chapters 7, 8, and 10 of Bary, Helen Valeska, "Labor Administration and Social Security: A Woman's Life" typed transcript of a tape-recorded memoir conducted by Jacqueline K. Parker, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1974, 259 pp/

Army Service: Drew Pearson's Allegations

Schottland: Drew Pearson was responsible for my having an exciting career in the Army. He wrote an article in which he said that the School of Military Government was sort of a Wall Street plot to have the right people be the military government officers in Germany.

Levenson: When was this?

Schottland: 1942. The members of the class, he said, were Wall Street brokers and lawyers, and so forth. So my general called me in. I'd been appointed student personnel officer. He said, "Have you read Drew Pearson this morning?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Roosevelt is calling a cabinet meeting about it. Is there any truth to his statements?" I said, "None at all." He said, "Do you know the records of all of the officers here?" I said, "Every one of 110." He said, "Do any of them have Wall Street connections?"

I told him there were three persons who had Wall Street connections. One was a Colonel Townsend, who was a lawyer in New York--it was a one-man office, and when he went to go into the Army he closed his office. I assume, by the law of averages, he might have had someone who worked in Wall Street as a client. But obviously, he was not much of a Wall Street lawyer.

And then there was Major somebody or other who was an attorney for the SEC [Securities Exchange Commission] in the New York regional office, and therefore had something to do with Wall Street, but exactly the opposite kind of relationship that Mr. Pearson was talking about. And third, we had an officer who had been in the foreign exchange office of the Chase National Bank, who was a teller, getting about two hundred and fifty dollars a month. I told him, "That's all the connection with Wall Street--nobody else." He said, "So no one in the School has any connection at all with Wall Street?" I said, "Yes, sir. They do." He said, "Who?" I said,

Schottland: "You." He said, "Oh my God, yes." This was General [Cornelius Wendell] Wickersham, who was head of one of the largest Wall Street law firms. But none of the students as Drew Pearson had charged.

But at any rate, it came up at a cabinet meeting, and Secretary [Harold L.] Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, persuaded the president to appoint a civilian board to commission the officers from civil life, so the Army wouldn't get all of these Wall Street people. So the president appointed, at Ickes' recommendation, Oscar Chapman, who later became Secretary of the Interior, who was then assistant secretary. And John [Jay, III] Corson, who had been head of the Bureau of Old Age and Survivors' Insurance in Social Security--a very prominent civil servant. He later became a partner of McKenzie & Company, management analysts.

And the two of them formed the civilian board. I had known both of them before, and they asked that I be detailed to them as the army person assigned to the board. I was not enthusiastic about it, but welcomed it in a way, because my family were in Washington. I lived down at Charlottesville, Virginia, where the School of Military Government was at the University of Virginia, and it would be nice to get back with my family.

Service under General Allen Gullion

Schottland: So I became the executive officer, and the general was Allen [Wyant] Gullion, who had been the provost marshal general, a very famous general. As a youngster, he had prosecuted Billy Mitchell. I don't know if you know that case--Billy Mitchell had said some radical things, such as the airplane was the coming weapon of warfare, and he was court-martialed. It wasn't just his saying it, but he had disobeyed orders and so forth. Gullion was his prosecutor.

Schottland: Gullion was a brilliant chap, a great authority on Shakespeare and the Bible, and he was later transferred to [General Dwight David] Eisenhower's staff in charge of displaced persons. He pulled me over. Incidentally, he was very much disappointed in the British, because he couldn't find anyone who knew anything about Shakespeare!

Speaking of Shakespeare, I should tell you one little story. He was so unhappy about not finding an Englishman who knew anything about Shakespeare. Among his many hobbies were beautiful women. He loved young, beautiful women and he disliked unattractive women, just disliked them intensely. Some of the top-ranking British civil servants--women--and some of the women members of parliament gave a dinner for Gullion and for me, because we had under our command not just displaced persons, but civilian clothing. And the British government wanted to get a large portion of our clothing to distribute to the French, because they were without clothing as we began to invade Normandy. So they decided to butter us up, I guess, and they gave this party for us.

And there was one old dame--I think she was a member of parliament or she was an under-secretary or something--she was up in years and singularly unattractive. And she was fawning all over the General. She'd have her hand on his shoulder. So he whispered to me, "See that I don't sit next to her at dinner." I whispered back, "I'm not the hostess; I can't control what happens at dinner." Besides, I was angry about it at the time. He said, "If I sit next to her at dinner, you're not going to get your promotion." [Laughter]

A few minutes later he said something from Shakespeare, and she came back with the next line. And for half an hour during cocktails they were quoting Shakespeare back and forth to each other. She was just as good a student of it as he was. And he was taken with her. But I was very peeved with him at the time. He had done something which was very bad, and we were hardly on speaking terms.

Schottland: So, I was feeling a little mischievous.

And there was this great big long table about this wide [3' by 20' long]. We were the only two men there. The hostess was going to sit at the head, and there was no chair at the end here. Well this old dame took the last chair there, with the idea that Gullion would sit next to her. I barged in, and I said, "I want the privilege of sitting next to such a great Shakespeare student." The General came up and I said, "General, I know you'd like to sit next to her, but I'm sure our hostess wants you at her right hand. You are the guest of honor." He glared at me. All during dinner he was morose, and when it was over we went outside, he said, "You sonofabitch, what did you do?" I said, "What are you talking about." He said, "Don't put on an innocent act with me, you know what I'm talking about. You know I wanted to sit next to her." I said, "General you told me it was worth my promotion if you sat next to her." He said, "You knew I'd changed my mind." I said, "I didn't know anything of the kind." [Laughter]

He wrote a letter to my wife--my wife and he had become good friends while I was on his staff in Washington. "You know, Charles is a very competent person, but sometimes I think he lacks imagination." [Laughter]

Gullion and the Japanese-American Relocation

Levenson: I want to ask about Gullion's views on the Japanese-American relocation. Can you tell me what they were?

Schottland: No, I really don't know. I know that, as provost marshal general, he was in charge of all military police. In many respects he was very liberal.

Levenson: But not on the evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast?

Schottland: No, not on that. He was brilliant. Of course, I saw the military point of view in this at the time, which was that you couldn't have hundreds of thousands of Japanese in such a spot, which could make it easy for the Japanese maybe to invade the Coast.

Levenson: However, there was never any move to evacuate them from Hawaii.

Schottland: No, but there the military point of view was that it was too big a job, and the whole Hawaiian economy would collapse because they were so involved in everything. And the military view at the time also was that there were very few foreign-born Japanese in Hawaii, percentage-wise; I don't know whether this was statistically correct or not. Most of them were American citizens.

At any rate, there was that inconsistency. I talked to the General in Hawaii at the School of Military Government. He came to lecture. As I recall his attitude was that it was too big a job, and we felt we had the whole situation under control, and there wasn't any sense in making our job complicated. I also have a vague impression that he was close to two or three Japanese-Americans there, and they may have had some influence on him. I don't know.

Levenson: Did you ever have a chance to talk to General [John L.] DeWitt or Colonel [Karl R.] Bendetsen, of Western Defense Command?

Schottland: Yes, I knew Colonel Bendetsen fairly well, but I never really talked to him about the Japanese problem. He was also interested in military government.

Summary of Schottland's Post-war Career

Schottland: After the war, I came to New York to head the Jewish Child Care Association, called also the New York Child Care Association. My son had very serious asthma during the winter, however. He just couldn't stand the eastern climate. So we decided to go back home to California, but there weren't any job openings. A friend of mine said, "Why don't you come and practice law?" I said, "I don't know anything about law." He said, "You don't have to know anything. I'm forming corporations like mad, and you don't have to know anything, you just use forms. I'll give you good retainers." So I did, but I didn't like it. Then came the offer from Warren [to serve as California's Director of Social Welfare].

Then after my four years with the Welfare Department--well while I was there I'd become the chairman of the State Public Assistance and Welfare Administrators. We had a state association. Sort of a state's rights group versus the federal government. We were a pressure group representing the states. And very powerful. Because we had access to our governors, and if we opposed a federal program or proposed law, our governors would get in touch with the senators and congressmen. They couldn't pass anything with combined state opposition, and we were able to get that opposition.

When the Eisenhower administration came in, they introduced some bills which we opposed, and which we killed. I got acquainted in this process with Oveta Culp Hobby, who became the first woman secretary in the Eisenhower administration, Secretary of Health Education and Welfare. And with Nelson Rockefeller, who was the undersecretary at the time, before he became governor. In fact, I've got his picture over there. Those are pictures of my bosses at one time or another.

They offered me the job of Commissioner of Social Security. I turned it down the first time it was offered and they brought in John Tramburg of Wisconsin. Then I later accepted in 1954.

Schottland: It was an interesting experience. I had a good relationship with the administration, and at the same time I had a good relationship with Congress. They all knew I was a democrat; I had testified many times before them. As a matter of fact, I was confirmed without hearing by the Senate. I came back at my own expense, because I wasn't yet on the payroll. This was on a Monday; the hearing was set for Wednesday. On Tuesday morning, Wilbur Cohen, who later became Secretary and was to be my assistant, came in and said, "Congratulations." I said, "For what?" He said, "You were confirmed last night by the Senate." I said, "What do you mean, confirmed by the Senate?"

What had happened--they had had a meeting of the Senate Finance Committee and the old Senator [Harry Flood] Byrd, the father of the present one said, "It's too bad we have to meet on Wednesday. But we have to confirm the new appointment of the Commissioner of Social Security." So Senator [Robert Samuel] Kerr of Oklahoma said, "Why do we have to wait until Wednesday? We all know him. He's that fellow from California who's been testifying before our committee. And any time Eisenhower appoints a democrat, why should we hesitate? Let's just confirm him." So they confirmed me, and I didn't even have a hearing!

So, it was an interesting experience. I had intended to stay on. As a matter of fact the AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations] people had said that if the Democrats come in, they would push for me to be reappointed by the Democrats. Many of the democratic members of Congress had said they would push for it, including Senator Kerr, so I was in pretty good shape to stay on. But then Brandeis University started its Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare and Abe [Abram Leon] Sachar, the President of the University, came to see me and asked me if I'd serve on a committee to help set up the school. I said I'd be glad to do it, but I'd have to serve only on a Saturday, and not more than one Saturday a month, because I

Schottland: couldn't leave Washington, or if I did I'd have to leave on government business.

So, I started working on this committee. The chairman of the committee was Donald Howard, of UCLA, the Dean of the School of Social Work at UCLA, and one of my closest friends. He's now retired; he retired last year. I think he still teaches though. We set up the format of the school. Then, the president offered me the deanship, and it sort of appealed to me and I came, and that's the end of my career.

Levenson: And now you're president [of Brandeis University].

Schottland: Yes, that was another one of my aberrations. When Morris Abram was president and suddenly resigned to run for the United States Senate from New York, the University was caught flat-footed--great disorganization because of the suddenness of the thing--this practically never happens you know, vacating the presidency of a university. Lawrence Wien, the chairman of the board, whom I'd gotten to know, introduced my name, and so I agreed that I'd take it until the end of the academic year maximum at which I was 65. Well I was 65 last October, so it would have been June, and in the meantime they've selected a successor, Marvin Bernstein of Princeton and he comes on September 1. So, I'll remain as president until September 1 [1972].

II DIRECTOR OF THE CALIFORNIA STATE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE, 1950-54

Welfare under Governor Olson, 1938-42

- Levenson: Governor [Culbert L.] Olson, preceded Warren. Can you comment at all on changes in the role of director and the State Board of Social Welfare, during the administrations of Governors Olson and Warren?
- Schottland: Well, in the first place, Olson tried to use every department for political ends. To start with the State Relief Administration, Dewey Anderson was the director who had succeeded Harold Pomeroy, who had succeeded me, and the governor's office just appointed person after person to the State Relief Administration.
- Levenson: Why was this?
- Schottland: Political payoffs. To give you an interesting example of how he felt--Dewey Anderson was in trouble with the governor because of these political appointments. By "in trouble," I mean he didn't like what was happening; and a delegation went to see Olson. On the delegation was Monsignor Thomas J. O'Dwyer of Catholic Charities and I was on the delegation. There were three or four others, and I don't remember who they were. I do remember we were all Democrats; we deliberately eliminated anyone who was a Republican.

Schottland: We went to make a presentation about the importance of appointing competent people to the State Relief Administration and not just political appointees. And one of the persons was making the pitch that we needed competent people--I don't know whether it was O'Dwyer, or who it was. And Olson interrupted. He said, "I agree with you. I think that competent people should be appointed to these jobs. And I've instructed my secretary (there was one secretary who had charge of appointments) to see to it that people who are competent, based on their support of me in the last election, are placed in the various jobs." Just like that! It's almost an exact quote.

Now, he appointed Martha Chickering, who was not a political appointment, but a good person--inexperienced; she'd been a professor at Berkeley. And as I mentioned to you, I came up as a consultant and deputy director for a six-month period.

He [Olson] didn't interfere too much in the department, because there wasn't much he could do. Only two or three appointments in any one department in California can be political appointments, unless you can maneuver it through civil service. And at that point the Personnel Board had a quasi-independent status. They were appointed for terms, and once they were there they were pretty strict. As a matter of fact, by my lights, much too strict. Civil service to them was very rigid, and the main purpose was to protect the people in jobs, and the idea of getting the best person was not part of the philosophy, unless they assumed the best person was the experienced person.

But in general, Olson's whole regime was politically dominated. And as you can see, I have a jaundiced view of that regime. He'd do all kinds of crazy things. For example, he declared a holiday--all state employees could be released. I forget what day it was; the Attorney General had to remind him. I guess it was Warren who was Attorney General. But he

Schottland: [Olson] had no authority to release employees of the state, except on legal holidays that had been established by the legislature. And so he rescinded it. There were always things like this happening.

Levenson: Did your delegation have any comeback when he said he was going to appoint people on the basis of their support?

Schottland: I think Monsignor O'Dwyer was the one, or one of them said, "Well on this basis we really have nothing more to say, if this is going to be the attitude of the governor." We shook hands and left.

Levenson: Did you feel that the differences between the two administrations--Olson's and Warren's were personal or institutional? I know Warren made quite a few changes in the way the governorship was run.

Schottland: There was never a case where either Warren or any of his staff ever asked me to make an appointment--not one in the whole period I was there. I can't recall anything which would have even a shadow of political interference, and we were a pretty big department. He just kept hands off completely, except on policy and legislation and the budget, of course.

Charles Wollenberg, Director of Social Welfare,
1943-48

Levenson: During the 30's, what do you think the opinion of the welfare professionals was of Governor Warren?

Schottland: I don't think there was much opinion about him in the thirties. He was not very well known to the welfare profession. He didn't get into state service as attorney general until much later, and I just don't think he was sufficiently either in the programs or on the issues or known

Schottland: to the individual social welfare people in that early period.

Levenson: To your knowledge, did he have any close acquaintances among welfare executives or welfare interests?

Schottland: I don't think he did in the early thirties. I think he was still in the district attorney's office, and he may have had local contacts that I don't know about, but certainly not on a state-wide basis. I was not very well acquainted with Warren at that time. I was administrator of the State Relief Administration in the end of '35 to '36, and was with them from 1933 to '36, and at no time during that period did Warren's name ever cross my path. So I don't think he was a big factor at that time in those programs.

Levenson: Then we come on--perhaps jumping rather too fast--to Charles Wollenberg, Director of Social Welfare. Can you tell me anything about why Warren chose him? After all, he was seventy and had experience in private social agencies, but as far as I'm aware, no experience in government.

Schottland: Well he had had some government experience. I don't know the specific reasons why he was chosen, but I'm willing to hazard some guesses. He was a person of great prestige in the welfare field. He had been in charge of the public welfare department, I think, at the time of the famous San Francisco earthquake--when was that--1906. And he was in charge of relief for the sufferers of the earthquake. He did a superb job, so that the oldtimers all talked about how Charlie Wollenberg saved lives and of the job he did at the time. I think that this aura around Wollenberg, plus the fact that--what was his name--one of the leaders of the liberal Republican block, who was close to Warren pushed him, and the difficulty of getting a person who would be acceptable to everyone, I think a combination of these factors resulted in appointing him [Wollenberg]. Also I heard that because of his age, it was understood that he would not be staying on too long, and this made it possible for Warren to have a breathing spell until he

Schottland: could figure out what to do about the appointment. I may be a little off base on this; I'm just guessing.

Levenson: How did the various groups respond to this appointment--public and private sectors: Do you know?

Schottland: Yes, I would say it was not a popular appointment as far as welfare groups, both public and private, were concerned. The county welfare directors accepted it better than other parts of the welfare bureaucracy. They felt that he would not institute very liberal changes. The federal people were not enthusiastic about it, but up to that time they'd been buffeted around so much by appointments of the state directors, that they felt, and I talked to several of them at the time, that at least here was a person who had had some experience in the welfare field, whereas so many of the state directors had had no experience whatsoever. So, I think they had mixed reactions. It wasn't the best appointment, but he certainly was a knowledgeable person in the field.

Levenson: Are you aware at all about the clients' views, the pensioners? They weren't really organized too well then.

Schottland: No, they were beginning to be organized, but my guess is that the George McLain group didn't like it, but I don't think they had very strong views on the subject.

Levenson: Do you know what Warren's special policy directives to Wollenberg were?

Schottland: No, I really don't.

Levenson: This is a difficult one--how would you assess Wollenberg's administration?

Schottland: No, I don't say it's difficult at all. The department had gone through a number of traumatic experiences; in the first place there was Rheba Crawford Splivalo, whom we discussed. She would be traumatic under any circumstances. Then there

Schottland: was a Florence Turner, who was a sort of society woman. Then there was the experience of the State Relief Administration during the Depression, being organized separate and apart from the welfare department, which was a reflection on the welfare department, and a deliberate determination, first by the RFC [Reconstruction Finance Corporation] under President [Herbert Clark] Hoover, and later the FERA [Federal Emergency Relief Association] under Harry Hopkins, not to use the welfare department.

Then you had the integration of the welfare department and the State Relief Administration much later. All of these experiences just made for an unsettled situation. Charlie Wollenberg brought a degree of emotional stability to the department. He was a solid, stolid sort of person. And I think this was a real contribution. He didn't come through with a great number of innovations. And at the time he came in, this was good; innovations were not what the department needed at that time. This is my general impression.

Levenson: After Wollenberg, as your immediate predecessor, you had Myrtle Williams. What would you like to say about her administration?

Schottland: Well, fortunately she didn't know enough and didn't have enough ability to disrupt too many things, and the civil servants carried on--a very good group of civil servants. There was no real leadership as far as she was concerned. Of course, George McLain was at her right elbow, and he did a lot of things. It was a period of upset, change. But I would say the basic administrative activities just kept going through the regular civil servants.

The Townsend Movement and Proposition 2

Levenson: Did part of the challenge arise because of the passage of Proposition 2 in 1948, which turned much of the welfare responsibility over to the counties, and its reversal by the voters in 1949?

Schottland: Yes, I think that no one anticipated it would pass. It's easy to understand how it did. The Townsend movement had been very strong in California, started in California and became an important political factor in the United States. There were several thousand Townsend Clubs over the country. The Townsend Clubs were started by Dr. [Francis] Townsend of Long Beach, and they actually elected a number of congressmen and senators. Even Senator [William Edgar] Borah of Idaho, the darling of the liberals in the early days, never felt strong enough to do anything but cooperate with them in his own state. In California they were very strong. So much so that if I might take the time I'd like to tell a little incident.

Earl Warren asked me if I would speak at their national convention in Long Beach. He had been invited to do it and did not feel that he should. They ran it just like a political convention. There were four or five thousand people from all over the country, behind their state banners. I found out that the program committee of the conference averaged about seventy-six years of age. So, to be complimentary, I said how wonderful it was that age was not a barrier in their work, that this committee of older persons had arranged such a wonderful conference.

Then I told about the state efforts to get older people to work. We had a special program to get older people to work, get off the relief rolls. That they could do anything that younger people could do, based upon what they had done at this conference. They went wild. They started shouting, and stamping on the floor. All the ham in me came out! I was getting an appreciative audience of several thousand. I

Schottland: emphasized the work of older people. I used statistics to show that their accident rate was lower than younger people. I was having a grand time. When I finished Dr. Townsend got up and said, "This young man, Mr. Schottland, made a good speech, and I liked most of it. But what's this business about us oldsters going to work? I've given my life to work. I don't want to work now. Do you?" And four thousand voices shouted, "No!"

So after that, I decided, "Better retreat gracefully." But at any rate that was a very strong movement, and although it was beginning to die out, it was the basis, it was an emphasis upon which McLain could build his organization.

Levenson: When was this meeting you spoke at?

Schottland: About 1952. After I was welfare director. '51 or '52, something in there. Now, it's very possible also that the idea of doing away with relatives' responsibility, which was a George McLain proposal, appealed to the children of older people. There was also a growing antagonism to the counties, and I think a combination of this plus a lot of money spent by McLain on the campaign--a combination of all those things resulted, I think, in this victory.

Levenson: Do you think that Warren had taken his eye off the scene for a while, because of his interest in the 1948 presidential election?

Schottland: No. No, I don't think he spent a lot of time on that, any more than he spent a lot of time on ever getting re-elected. In one of the campaigns, when he ran against Jimmy [James] Roosevelt, his supporters were going crazy because the name Jimmy Roosevelt was very popular. The name Roosevelt was popular. And he wouldn't go out and campaign. He kept saying, "We've got plenty of time." A month before the election, he went out in a whirlwind campaign, speaking on corners, completely tired out all his young staff. He's got tremendous energy. And they just took the state by storm.

Myrtle Williams "Elected" Director of Social
Welfare by Proposition 2, 1948

- Levenson: Now, in the proposition, didn't it say that Myrtle Williams would be the director?
- Schottland: Yes, they wrote in Myrtle Williams in the constitutional amendment.
- Levenson: [Laughing] I couldn't believe that.
- Schottland: Well, no one believed it. It's the only time, I guess, it's ever happened, in history.
- Levenson: Do you know any of the background on that, how she got on the ballot in that way?
- Schottland: Well, McLain just decided that was the way-- he was afraid that if they didn't write it in-- I talked to him about it--he was afraid if they didn't write it in, that there would be some maneuver to see that a political appointee got it, or that Warren would appoint someone else. And therefore they not only wanted to write it in, but they wanted to be assured that the governor would have no hand in it.
- Levenson: What was Myrtle Williams' particular slant on all this? I understand she had "building mania"? She wanted to build a lot? It's all very murky in the documents I've seen.
- Schottland: She wasn't a very forceful character, as I understand. I never actually met her. When I took over, a lot of interesting things happened. We used to have--oh, a lot of money would come in, in cash, in envelopes addressed to her. Naturally my secretary would open it, as it was addressed to her as director of the department. We sent them all on to her, but here in the public office she was receiving contributions, I assume to be used for McLain's organization. I gathered that as far as internal organization of the department, she did absolutely nothing. She wasn't terribly interested.

Levenson: She didn't have people she wanted to place? Her own appointees?

Schottland: Yes, she had some. I got rid of some of them when I came in. But not many, just two or three. The state civil service was so strict in California that the only non-civil service appointees are the director, and she has a right to appoint a secretary and I think one assistant. And that's all. So that the rest was civil service, and the California civil service was, and I assume still is, very, very strict. They had the theory, borrowed from the British civil service. You start as a janitor or a messenger boy, and you end up forty years later as the top civil servant in the department, without regard to qualifications or anything else. That was the philosophy. So if you came in from the outside, you really had to be terribly well-qualified.

Schottland's Appointment

Levenson: Mr. Schottland, I'd like to ask you how you came into the state service under Warren?

Schottland: Yes, Warren had a device which he had set up to choose his cabinet. He would appoint a committee of citizens representing widely divergent interests in the particular subject, and would have them recommend candidates to him. Usually he hoped they'd recommend at least two, so he would have some choice, but frequently they would recommend one. And he appointed a committee to choose a director of the state welfare department.

The committee included the head of the state AF of L--that was before the days of the AFL-CIO; the Dean of the School of Social Welfare at UCLA; I think, though I don't remember, also the Dean of the School of Social Welfare at Berkeley; and a number of other people, businessmen and others. They asked me to accept. I really didn't want to. That had been my field all my life; but I had

Schottland: taken law in order to work on social legislation. A friend of mine had given me a very good and lucrative offer to go into law, and I had been practicing about a year. So I wasn't interested. But I agreed to go up and see the governor. He's very persuasive. So that's how I came to accept the position.

Levenson: Had you known the governor before then?

Schottland: No. I had met him on a couple of occasions, but I didn't know him.

Levenson: You say he is very persuasive. What was it that made you accept?

Schottland: Well, several things. In the first place, we had gone through quite a revolution in the welfare field in Los Angeles. We had had a state administration of welfare pursuant to a constitutional amendment by the voters which brought in Myrtle Williams, although George McLain, an outsider, was really running the welfare department although he had no official status. An election headed by a number of organizations, such as the League of Women Voters, had reversed this, and the program was going to revert to a state-supervised county-operated program.

Things were in a state of flux and change at the time. There had been amendments to the social security act. I guess I've always run to bureaucracy like a duck to water, and I like large-scale administration, and this was a challenge. Here was the largest social welfare program in the United States, going back to the counties, which were very inadequately set up to handle the growing load. And it was obvious in the 1950s that the whole welfare scene was changing, and that we were in for some radical and fundamental changes. So it looked like a challenging situation. I guess I was anxious to get into it, subconsciously.

Schottland's Working Relationship with
Warren: the Governor's Council

Levenson: When you were director of social welfare, how did you work with Warren? Did you have direct access to him?

Schottland: I had a great deal of direct access to him. More so, I think, than most of the department directors, because of his interest in the field. I would see him very, very frequently, sometimes several times a week, particularly when the legislature was in session, and I wanted to check things with him. There never was the slightest problem of getting access to him. I would do that through one of two secretaries. He had Merrell [M.F.] Small, who was sort of administrative secretary. I had a very good relationship with "Pop" as they called him. And secondly he had a secretary--I think her name was O'Brien.

She later went to Washington with him and became his secretary on the court. It was very easy for me--I had good relationships with both of them, and they knew that he would want to see me because of his interest in the welfare department. Helen MacGregor was not really a secretary. Her title might have been that, but she was sort of an advisor on delinquency and related problems, and he later appointed her to the--I guess it was the Youth Authority. She was a lawyer, if I'm not mistaken, she was a lawyer, and a rather high-grade person, with a real philosophy on the areas of delinquency. I haven't thought about her in twenty-five years or so, till you just mentioned her name.

Levenson: One of the things we're interested in is the structure of government at this time. For example, the governor's council. I gather that this had to meet every month. This was a constitutional requirement. What was the position of social welfare in this structure? Were you in a subgroup with public health, for example?

Schottland: Yes, the council met every month. The format was to have every person report on major events within the department without any instruction or guidelines. It was again to be assumed that one of the major things you reported on was anything that had public relations implications, so that all the members of the cabinet would know anything that was likely to break in the press. As I say, no one ever told us that that was what we were to do, but everyone did report that kind of thing.

Then, what else they would report would depend upon the idiosyncracies of the individual cabinet members. Some of them would report on routine statistical matters, and others only on new things. It was an interesting and varied cabinet, very able men. There were practically no mediocre men in that cabinet. They were all prima donnas, and prima donnas in their own right. Some of them might have been difficult, but they were able. A very conscientious and loyal group.

Now there were subcommittees of the council. I forget the name of our subcommittee. It was sort of a health, welfare, and institutional subcommittee. The men on it were extremely able. There was [Dr.] Frank Tallman, of the Department of Mental Hygiene, a psychiatrist, now teaching at UCLA, I assume. I haven't heard from him for about a year. There was--oh, the Director of Public Health, I forget his name. [Dr. Wilton L. Halverson] He was an extremely able person. Then Jim [James G.] Bryant, the Director of Employment Security, who later left. There was of course Karl Holton, the Director of the Youth Authority.

Then there was the Chairman of the Board of Corrections [Richard A.] McGee, who was also very close to Warren, by the way, because Warren had a special interest in jails and prisons. I don't know where McGee is today. Probably still around. A terrible able fellow, tough. Very able.

And there may be one or two more that I forget, but that was sort of the gang that we were together with. The directors of these departments were pretty generally a good group.

Levenson: Was education in this group?

Schottland: Yes, it was, but at that time, although technically the superintendent of education was a member of the council, since he was an elected official he usually had kind of a separate status and didn't attend very many of the meetings. He would have a deputy attend, and sort of stayed aloof. This was a combination, as I recall, of the whole education business of being separate because of the elected status, and he wasn't responsible to the governor, in a sense, plus the fact that they were pretty disorganized in many ways. This was not a tightly knit, effective department, as I recall the situation.

Levenson: Did your subgroup meet at all, except in the big governor's council meetings, with the other half of the cabinet--agriculture, public works--

Schottland: No.

Levenson: You had nothing to do with them?

Schottland: We had as individuals and departments, but not as a group.

"Pop" Small, the Governor's Secretary, a
Facilitating Agent in Government

Levenson: One of the things we are trying to find out is the sort of interrelationship between departments--how government worked at the time, because much of it is not written down, it's simply assumed.

Schottland: I think the sort of bridge between, or among the various departments came through the governor's secretary, "Pop" Small. He was quite a facilitating agent. He had a kind of a knack of legitimate gossip. He would relay to interested departments what you were doing that they ought to know about, and then he'd call to your attention things that ought to be done in terms of relationships, so that in this kind of informal way, and

Schottland: of course bearing the imprint of the governor whenever he spoke, he became a rather important factor, it seems to me, in the way things operated. You won't find that written down on paper, but it was very important.

Levenson: I have an example, I think, of something of the sort where it happened. I'd like you to comment on anything you know about the surplus federal foods, where apparently--I don't know who initiated it--but Warren discovered that there were federal surplus foods dumped under the aegis of the Department of Education, and he wanted them released to people who needed them. He got "Pop" Small to do it over the weekend. I don't know whether you can add anything to that or comment on the federal surplus foods program. I assume that welfare had something to do with it.

Schottland: Yes, as a matter of fact, the welfare department did pass out federal surplus foods. California had always been involved with the surplus food [program] since the Depression days of the thirties.

That program started, of course, as an aid to the farmers primarily, to buy their food. No one was buying the food. A lot of it came from California. During the Depression, for example, I was State Relief Administrator. I was a youngster, but it was a big operation. I had 13,000 employees. It was very big. I was only twenty-eight when I was appointed. The farmers didn't even bother to pick the oranges off their trees. They couldn't afford it. And yet it was important to pick the oranges, because you ruin the crop for next year if you don't pick the oranges. So we used relief labor, and picked all kinds of fruit, which we got for nothing, and then we'd pass it out as surplus food.

So there was a tradition of surplus foods, and the welfare department was very heavily involved in it.

Warren's Views on Social Welfare

Levenson: In 1950, when you became director, what did you feel about Warren's views on social welfare? Someone said that his philosophy changed from the organization of society, based on his previous law enforcement experience, to service to society. That he developed quite a strong welfare perspective. Can you say anything on that?

Schottland: I don't know about the change, because I didn't know him before. Certainly, from the time I came in, he had a very strong welfare perspective. It was very strong in many areas. a) He believed in adequate financial assistance for people. He believed strongly that if the state is going to give them financial assistance, it ought to give them enough to help them out of their distress, not just take care of them in poverty and keep them there. b) He believed very strongly, as you know, in providing adequate health programs, and promoted the first of the socialized medical insurance plans in California, for which he was crucified.

He had a number of other ideas. He was very anxious to work out something for migratory workers, and appointed a commission, of which I was a member, to look into the migratory worker situation.

Now, my own analysis of that was not related to his change in philosophy particularly. My analysis at the time was that he was always a warm person, in personal relations, that he loved people, and that when he became attorney general he began to be exposed to these ways of helping people, because the attorney general in California is much more important than the attorney general in most other states. His legal opinions almost have the force of a judicial decision. They're very well regarded by the courts. And so the attorney general's office rules on everything, which is another thing that isn't done in other states. You don't have the attorney general rule on everything.

Schottland: California was accustomed to having the attorney general rule on everything, so he must have gotten a really big dose of welfare ideology as attorney general.

Then he came in as governor, and [welfare] had to be a point of central interest with the legislature, with the federal government, and so forth. And he began to see that there were ways of making life better for people--with his innate warmth toward human beings--he just is a warm guy. In many respects, he is very old-fashioned in personal relationships. For example, I never saw him shake hands across the desk with a woman who was sort of new, not one of his staff. He would always come around the desk. He is very polite, and in personal relationships a little formal.

Levenson: How do you think Warren rated social welfare compared with the other executive agencies?

Schottland: I'd say very high, and maybe the highest. I don't know what other directors of departments would say, because I would guess that everyone felt that they had such access to him that they would feel that their department was very important. But I think that he rated welfare among the highest of his considerations, if not the highest.

For several reasons: in the first place, there'd been so much political activity around it, with McLain and so forth. Secondly, it was so expensive. It was a large portion of the total state budget. Not as large then as it is today, but very, very large. It was politically explosive, as most of the departments were not. Furthermore, it involved, as most state programs did not, relationships with the counties. The county government in California had always been very, very strong--stronger than in most of the states of the union. In Massachusetts, for example, county government is insignificant. They have a courthouse and a few other things, but no one pays any attention to county government. And in many states it's not terribly important.

Schottland: In California, the fifty-eight counties were, and still are, terribly important. I think all of these factors made it necessary for any governor to be terribly involved in the situation.

Levenson: What were Warren's views on pensions?

Schottland: Well, he was very liberal in the whole area of pensions. He felt that they ought to be adequate, that eligibility should be liberally construed, that, I would say taking the spectrum from the extreme right to the extreme left in this area of pensions, he was very far left. He was very liberal and endorsed and pushed every important liberalization when he was governor.

Levenson: Then, before and during your tenure, I would like to ask you how you evaluate the various advisors to Governor Warren on social welfare. How much reliance did he put on advisors from the state board, the legislature, county welfare directors, private and federal agencies, on policy formation and the whole spectrum of welfare problems, including financing?

Schottland: I would say that during my regime (1950-54), that in terms of the programs of the Welfare Department itself, as distinguished from other welfare programs, such as Youth Authority, that the chief advisor was the Director of the department. That's not just because it was personal, but because I think it was a factual thing. He met with me frequently, and I was able to get decisions from him without being with him, through "Pop" Small and others.

The members of the board were not in direct communication with him for the most part, except for the chairman, first Colonel Archibald Young and later Judge [Ben] Koenig, but their contacts were few and far between.

With reference to the counties, he would meet with them occasionally, but I don't think their views were very influential with him. Certainly, in every disagreement we had, he always

Schottland: supported the department. So that I would say they were not an influential group.

He did occasionally, I would hear, check reactions with other members of the cabinet. Karl Holton of the Youth Authority, Jim Bryant-- those things that seemed to relate to their interests. I would say the same things would hold for the other departments too, where he had confidence in the Director. The Director was the chief advisor. I think that's the way he worked.

Levenson: How about his relationship to the federal government in the welfare context?

Schottland: He had a very close relationship with some of the federal people. Prior to my coming into the job, he had a very close relationship with the regional director of Health Education and Welfare, whose name escapes me. But the regional director there always felt he had access to the governor. They liked to deal with him; he was pleasant and he understood the federal position and agreed with it in so many cases. That relationship continued on an informal basis, not in terms of many contacts, because we didn't have many problems that couldn't be settled between the department and the feds, but I would say he was much closer than most governors. He had a very good relationship with them.

The State/County Relationship: Differing Welfare Perspectives

Levenson: On this business of the counties, do you want to comment on your problems which were produced by these constitutional amendments, first of all handing things over to the state, and then back to the counties?

Schottland: Well, there were a lot of problems, some specific to the move and others inherent in the over-all state/county relationship both before and after. Those inherent in the move were, first, the whole question of--when it moved over to the state, they

Schottland: had to get quarters and build a lot of buildings. When it was handed back to the counties, what do you do with the buildings? Questions of inventory, of property. Administratively it was a herculean task involving millions of dollars worth of personal property and real property, and the handling of this was a big problem. It was very important to avoid any difficulties which could result in any kind of scandal of any kind. California had been one of the few states which just had practically never had a state scandal. There might have been local ones. State government was just awfully clean in California. So that was one problem.

The next problem was transferring records back and forth. Then we had a very peculiar problem which was very difficult to explain to the public, the newspapers and the legislature: why, if our investigations were so good to determine need, why was it that thousands of people never even bothered to go to the county offices after the transfer from the state, and apply? You take away their relief checks, and they don't even show up to apply! All they had to do was be there for a few minutes, and they just never bothered to do it. The answer to that is not easy, but it's a very common phenomenon. You make any change whatsoever, for instance, suddenly require people to report to the employment office to pick up their check, and they don't do it.

You say, they must be starving. Well, the answer is a lot of them are starving. Particularly older people, you get a lot of older people, or say, in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children cases, a lot of inadequate mothers--mentally retarded or disorganized. And they just can't organize themselves well enough to take the step which is necessary. They get along in some way or another, chisel from friends, or maybe they have got a hundred dollars put away in a sock and they use that for a couple of months.

But this was a real cause célèbre in the legislature--the fact that several thousand didn't show up to re-establish their eligibility.

Schottland: Then, also, the transfer began to point up what was then just beginning--the growth of the then-ADC, Aid to Dependent Children program, later changed to Aid to Families with Dependent Children in the terms of the title. We had an interesting situation there, which is still in discussion now with the legislature.

The senate finance committee called a hearing, and sent telegrams demanding that the members of the welfare board appear, and one to me. My telegram was, I think, delivered at four o'clock in the morning for an appearance the same morning. We decided quickly that the members would not appear and that I would handle the whole thing. The chairman was quite angry. I explained that the telegrams had come very late, that he had invited the representatives of the counties long before, a couple of days before, and that it was unreasonable to suppose that busy men and women who were not on the payroll of the state would show up on two hours notice. So then he ruled that every witness would be given five minutes, since they had such a large number of witnesses. Or maybe it was ten minutes, I'm not sure.

So I got up and said, "I'm very sorry, Mr. Chairman, but I cannot testify on this basis. You have fifteen or twenty representatives of the counties here, and you're giving them five minutes each. They could take a hundred minutes. You're giving me five," or whatever it was. "I'm the only person representing the other side, and the other point of view. Either I get equal time, or I'm not going to participate." He said, "You know, we can subpoena you." I said, "I know that, but you haven't, and I'll walk out unless I'm given equal time." He said, "You mean, you'll take a hundred minutes?"

I said, "I don't know how long, but I think it's only fair that I have equal time." So he threw his hands up, and said, "OK, but be reasonable about it." I said, "Certainly." I don't know, I must have talked fifteen or twenty minutes.

Schottland:

But there was a constant conflict between the state and the counties. We had a County Advisory Committee, which minimized the conflict, because we would check things with them, and usually we worked it out. The committee was composed primarily of county welfare directors, including some county supervisors. It took a number of forms, this antagonism. There was first a difference in philosophy. They were much more conservative, much harsher in treatment of people. The state was much more liberal, more humane. They would turn down cases, and we had a lot of appeals, and the decision would be overridden by the state. So this created antagonisms, since the state was in charge.

They objected to the state regulations, which were very liberal. They objected to any kind of state supervision, really. We had one very funny experience. They introduced a bill into the legislature providing that all the regulations, forms, procedures, had to be approved by a legally established county advisory committee, and they made a case with witness after witness of the mounds and mounds and piles of forms that had been introduced since I had become director. It was an attack upon my administration. And I pulled a very dirty trick. I took the forms, all the forms that we were using, every single one of them, that were binding on the counties, and of course eliminated the carbon paper in them, just the single sheet. And it made a pile about like this. [About two inches high.] And I introduced this in the record, and when the legislators said, "Well, that can't be what they're talking about. I've been in these places, and I've seen these forms." I said, "Yes, you have a thousand forms of one sheet. They've got a thousand cases."

I said, "Let me pass out the packets to the county representatives and ask them if there are any forms that I am not including that they know about." Then, some of them were quite inept, and they got up and said, "There are a lot of forms that have not been included." I said, "Such as what?" And so they began to mention the forms.

Schottland: I was prepared for this, because I was going to testify that three quarters of the forms were their own that we didn't require and that they didn't have to have, in our opinion. And so they started mentioning these forms, and I said, "That's your own form. That's not a state form. Just get it and see if there's a state number on it. You developed this form, or your predecessors in office." So it completely killed the bill, and the idea. It was a very dramatic--and they called it a dirty display of acting. [Laughter]

But we had a great deal of conflict. I personally, and I don't think this is just an egocentric reaction--I personally had a very good relationship with the counties. But professionally, philosophically, we were miles apart. I was invited to all their social affairs, had a very close relationship with the directors, and on several occasions, I could even go over the head of the director to the board of supervisors and win them over, which I did many times.

This stemmed from my early relationship in the State Relief Administration, where we came in and rescued the counties. They were all going broke. And I still have friends among the county directors. But we just disagreed. It was tense all the time.

Professionalization of Social Workers: Problems and Issues

Levenson: As an administrator, how did you deal with the problem of professionalization of social workers who, I guess, were still feeling somewhat marginal as a profession at this time?

Schottland: Well, I didn't always see eye to eye with my professional colleagues, although I was a professional social worker, and later became national president of the National Association of Social Workers. I had a group of San Francisco social workers wait on me after I came in. I had

Schottland: appointed Ed [E.E.] Silveira as the deputy director [Administrative Assistant]. The conversation went something as follows: "Mr. Schottland, do you know that Ed Silveira is not a social worker?" I said, "Of course. I've known him for years. He's a statistician and researcher." "Do you feel that the deputy director of the department should be a non-social worker?" I said, "I feel that Ed Silveira is the best qualified person in this state that I know of to be the director." They said, "You're not answering the question." I said, "I'm answering it the way I'm going to answer it." They said, "Well, we disagree. We think it should be a social worker." I said, "Well, that's perfectly okay. It's a free country. You're free to disagree." They said, "Aren't you going to do anything about it?" I said, "He's the right person."

Well, they issued a resolution condemning me for appointing a non-professional person. Ed Silveira was a top-notch, conscientious civil servant. I had known him from the depression days. He was the chief statistician, and later the auditor for the State Relief Administration. He had come up through the ranks in the welfare department. A very fine, very conscientious, very human, warm, liberal person. A very unusual guy.

I was never enthusiastic in those early days about intensive social services connected with public assistance. And my attitude then was one of a very small minority. Today it's the majority. We've separated services from assistance. I didn't feel that we ought to have trained social workers in the front-line jobs, because nine-tenths is not really social work, certainly not social casework. It was investigation of eligibility. With the large caseloads, it was silly to talk about intensive services.

The welfare departments of California had started in the Depression as the dumping ground for all political hacks. I was with the voluntary agencies first in the Depression, and if you wanted to get rid of an incompetent worker, you

Schottland: got her an appointment with the public welfare department. So it had a bad tradition. Furthermore, most of the counties didn't even have civil service. Under the Social Security Act, where federal funds were involved, you had to have some kind of merit system. And this forced the merit system on the counties.

We were able to hold the line by having only college graduates eligible to take the exams for the position. That meant college graduates who were untrained in the field. The turnover was very great because very few of them really wanted this as a professional career, so that you had a number of bright young people, turning over, not really interested in the job, not competent to do anything other than eligibility. So you didn't have a very competent staff. On the other hand, we had many competent directors who did develop a competent machine.

There was one girl in Marin--she's still there I think, the director of the Marin County Welfare Department, terribly able, very efficient. Ronald Born in San Francisco was very, very efficient. Very conservative, philosophically at the opposite end of the pole from me. Very much disliked by all the liberal social workers. Terribly efficient. Ran a pretty good show from the straight standpoint of efficiency. Harsh in terms of welfare recipients, but he ran a very good show. And there were many others. A lot depended on the director.

Levenson: The origins of this difference are extraordinarily complex. Would you say that it was largely because they were political appointments rather than civil servants in the counties?

Schottland: No, many of them were civil service. Many of them were essentially--particularly some of the trained social workers--in their individual capacities quite liberal. I think that it's accounted for by the--well, the sociological concept of role. You assume the role in which you're cast, and they were responsible to the boards of supervisors which were conservative parts of government. And also, in any organization,

Schottland: you always have a resentment toward higher authority. Whether it's the Army, or government, or anything else. So here was the state supervising a local operation, and so there was this natural resentment. And philosophically, they began to develop a sort of taxpayer ideology that every liberal move was spending tax monies, and that they were the guardians of the public purse.

So that you had a built-in conflict, which was a conflict not only related to welfare, but you see, we in the state could sit behind our desk and think through what we thought was sound policy. They were on the firing line, and they began to develop, as anyone on the firing line, resentments to the clients and welfare recipients, which colored their attitudes. We didn't get sit-ins in our offices, and other things that they got, you see. So they had a little different point of view.

National and Statewide Conferences: Their Importance in Shaping the Legislative Climate

Levenson: Can you tell me about the conferences that Warren had when he was governor? Did he have a conference on aging?

Schottland: Yes, and I sold that idea to him; it was the first one on aging. There had been a national conference on aging in 1950, and I had attended on behalf of California.

That conference shows how far we've come in our thinking in the United States, from the 1950 national conference. A resolution was introduced to ask the federal government to develop a central file of statistics and other information on aging. This was opposed by the large national voluntary welfare agencies, primarily centering around New York. They maintained that the federal government could not develop a good information system because it would be politically

Schottland: dominated, and that this was the role of a voluntary agency; there was a national organization called the National Social Welfare Assembly, which is still in existence, with a different name now. And they ought to be the central registry.

The welfare directors of course opposed this, the state welfare directors. I remember my own comment--it was kind of a vicious debate, a nasty debate. I remember my own comment, when I got up and said--I'm getting a bit personal on these things--

Levenson: Oh, no, it's very good!

Schottland: I said, "Now, let's see how this will work. I'll get up before my legislature and say that my budget's going to be \$300,000,000 over a period of years for the aged, and that California's aged population is going to increase in the next five years by a certain percent, and they say, 'Well, how do you get this information? What do you base it on?' and I say, 'Well, there's a voluntary organization in New York, of a few people, and they give me the facts upon which I ask you to appropriate \$300,000,000.' How long do you think I'd last in my job?"

They didn't seem to think that was very important. It shows how far we've come--and that was just twenty years ago.

Levenson: It seems ridiculous.

Schottland: Yes. But these were top leaders in the welfare field who were taking this position. So when I got back I talked to the governor about having a state conference. Warren had had a number of state conferences, all highly successful, in various areas. So he organized this, and I detailed Louis Kuplan, who had been head of our old age assistance program, to be the executor of an inter-departmental committee.

Sacramento had developed real experts in these statewide conferences. One person of one department became the housing expert. Another

Schottland: person would handle registration. Whenever he [Warren] had these statewide conferences, you would collect all these characters, and the departments would release them for the work. So the state conferences just went like clockwork, because there would be some expert on transportation--I don't know if this is still the story or not--you'd get seven or eight people on a committee, and there you had real expertise, because the conferences were a tremendous logistical problem.

So we had the conference on aging. It went like clockwork. And started an interdepartmental program on aging, which Louis Kuplan headed. He's now a private consultant in the field of aging and pensions. We detailed him to it, and he left the department at that point and never returned, because we developed an interdepartmental committee on aging.

Levenson: What sort of results did you feel that you got from such a conference?

Schottland: I don't know that you could pinpoint anything specific. My own bias is that these statewide conferences, and national conferences, are very important, in terms of developing a climate in which you can make progress legislatively. Everybody gets excited--now take, for instance, the recent conference on aging. [Arthur S.] Fleming, the former head of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has been appointed by [Richard Milhous] Nixon to follow up on the recommendations that came out of the conference. Now, some of them are going to be implemented, either by law or by directive, because he's got a job to do, and he's a conscientious person, Fleming is. He'll get some things through.

Congress will pick up on some of the recommendations, and bills will be introduced, and over a period of time, some of them will pass. So I think all of these conferences, because of their visibility, the use of the mass media, and the interest they generate at home, they're a good way of getting legislation.

Schottland: The outstanding examples are the periodic, every-ten-year conferences, the White House conferences on children, starting in 1910. Every single one has resulted in major improvement in something relating to children. Every single one. Not just some general improvements, but specifically, you can pinpoint them. The 1910 conference resulted in the United States Children's Bureau. The 1930 conference resulted in ADC and child welfare being in the social security act, et cetera. I forget which is related to which one.

Major Problems of the Department

Organization and Decentralization

Levenson: As director, what did you perceive as the major problems of the Department of Social Welfare in the early 50's?

Schottland: There were four or five major problems. One was the organization of the state department itself to be effective. I wanted to decentralize the day-to-day operations in relation to the counties by strengthening regional offices, and getting top-notch people in each office. To do that, I insisted on open, competitive examinations for jobs. It was not easy to get through the state personnel board, since as I mentioned previously, the whole philosophy then was, you started at the bottom, came up, and no outsiders could stop your progression. By having an open, competitive exam, you had to demonstrate that there were not people within the organization who were competent.

The procedure was that you had to get the employees to agree that they were not competent to take the exam, in effect. I talked to all of our people, and they all agreed there should be open, competitive exams, particularly since they had an edge anyway. You get extra points if you're on the job or something. So if you were

Schottland: anyplace near the outsiders in terms of their qualifications, you usually got ahead.

I appeared at an open meeting of the state personnel board. One of the members, after I made my pitch, asked me what our employees felt about it. I said, "I checked with all of the top people, and they're in agreement with this." Whereupon a lawyer for the California State Employees' Association got up and said, "Sorry to disagree with the director, but I represent them, and they are absolutely opposed to this." So they were all sitting there. It was very embarrassing. They were all friends of mine from long before I took the job. So I said, "In that case, I just have to repeat what's happened." So I told the whole story. They opened it up by a vote of three to two, and so we brought in some outsiders as well as one insider.

That was my first thing, trying to get it decentralized.

Relations with the Legislature

Schottland: Second, I felt it was very important to establish a good relationship with the legislature, since this was the life and death of the program, both in terms of money allocations and in terms of the law. I spent a great deal of time in the legislature. I appointed a chap by the name of Vern Gleason as my liaison with the legislature. He was an exceptionally good man for this kind of job. He's still with the department, I think. I got a Christmas card from him, but I've lost track. I did a lot of work with the legislature, a lot of talking with them individually, so that at hearings for the legislature I had a tremendous advantage in our fights with the counties. I knew most of them by their first names.

Gleason worked at this thing day and night. He was always with the legislature.

Relations with the Federal Government

Schottland: The third area that I was particularly concerned with was relations with the federal government. This was not easy. They were having their own jurisdictional fight, and the states were pawns in the hands of the federal government's jurisdictional fights. For example, there was always an argument between the Children's Bureau, and the Bureau of Public Assistance. The Children's Bureau looked upon state welfare departments as a nuisance, and they wanted separate departments for children in every state. They had a sort of direct line between Washington and the divisions of child welfare within the state departments.

I think the trend in the United States, prior to 1935 was that you had divisions of family services in which you combined all services for people, social services. When the Children's Bureau took over the child welfare program under the Social Security Act, they insisted upon separate divisions of child welfare. So the whole trend in the United States changed, because the money was there. And the Children's Bureau said, "You organize separate children's divisions, or else." And they had a sort of direct line. They used to go around the state welfare directors.

When I came in, I knew the Washington people, because I had been their assistant chief of Children's Bureau before the war. I insisted that when their representative came to Sacramento, they saw me first, I was the Director of the department. And if they didn't see me first, I wasn't going to do anything they'd agreed upon with my director of child welfare. So we worked at straightening out these relationships, and that was another important thing.

Levenson: What did you feel that you accomplished in that area?

Schottland: We brought the child welfare and the public assistance people closer together into a

Schottland: coordinated program. Not completely, but at least for instance, as we decentralized, it became very clear that the authority would be in the regional director, or the area director, and not in the individual person's reporting directly to Sacramento.

In trying to work out coordination we were bucking several things that made it very difficult. First, you're bucking the Children's Bureau, which kept urging a separate [division]--officially, they gave lip service to the idea of integration. Practically, they bucked it. Anyone who tried to integrate this with family services was opposed to child welfare, and to children. Most of the gals who represented them didn't have any children anyway. Most of them were not married. Starting with Katharine Lenroot, the chief, and down to Martha Eliot, who later became chief. Until I came into the picture, in '41 as assistant chief, there had never been a man in a top position on the child welfare side of the Children's Bureau. They were very much opposed to men coming in. Katharine Lenroot broke the tradition by asking me in. It didn't sit well with the other women.

And on the child welfare side, of the top administration--of the top eight to ten officials, there wasn't a single married woman.

Levenson: That's very interesting.

Schottland: Not a single one. Katharine Lenroot, Martha Eliot, Elsa Castendyck, Mary Irene Atkinson, Emma Lundberg, all single. All over fifty years of age. Never married. They were all old maids. And so it was a very interesting phenomenon.

State/County Relationships

- Schottland: Well, another thing I was very much concerned with was the whole area of state/county relations, in which I worked very hard. But my goals were a little vague, even to me. You know, I just wanted good working relations. And that's about all that I really can formulate in my own mind, as to what I wanted. I guess like all administrators, I was just interested in having a smooth running show without really set goals.
- Levenson: But you had to sit back at the end of every two years and write your report, which caused you to check.
- Schottland: Yes. I worked hard on the reports.
- Levenson: They're very distinguished, if I may say so.
- Schottland: Now, of course a lot was done by staff, but I did the final drafting. We had a very good staff. The head of public assistance, Mary Elizabeth McClatchie, was one of the best minds in the public assistance field, with a good sense of politics, how the counties would react to regulations, real dedication to a good and liberal program. Real feeling for people.

And then Ed Silveira, who was a very competent person. And then the director of our merit system, [A.R.] Albouze. He was director of our personnel and merit system. Albouze was a rigid, unyielding, unbending technician, but a very hard worker and conscientious. This was good, with the counties. You see, he wouldn't let them get away with anything in their merit system. And although he made for unnecessary difficulty because of his inability to bend, he was so dependable that you didn't have to worry about things going wrong. So it was a pretty good gang.

And then the director of child welfare, a very interesting, very competent--can't remember

Schottland her name. [Lucile Kennedy] She was a very effusive personality. She never drank. She was a teetotaler. At a party you would think she was high and drunk, because she was always so effusive. A very, very fine, good social worker. Stood for high standards. All the child welfare workers were very well trained, on the state staff. All with their master's [degrees]--I think practically all of them.

Then we had a number of good clerical type people, good accountants. A very interesting and competent person, Carl Mulder, who later became head of Medicaid. I went on a two weeks vacation trip, a camping trip, with him and his daughter and my daughter. Oh, I've just got to tell you this story, in spite of using up your tape.

We gave a party for Ralph Goff [the Los Angeles regional director]. He was getting married. So we gave him a party at Carl Mulder's home, the chief accounting officer. He was Dutch. He'd come to this country in the early 1930's, became an American citizen. He studied for the priesthood at the seminary in Santa Barbara and then decided he didn't want to be a priest, got married and had either nine or ten children. So, he went from one extreme to the other! We gave this party and they asked me whether I would present a scroll to him and I said, "Yes, where is the scroll?", and they said they'd give it to me at the luncheon. It was held outdoors in the backyard of Carl's home.

And the luncheon was over and one of the chaps, the chairman, I guess, got up and said "The director of our department will present a scroll to Mr. Goff, which expresses our feeling toward him." So, I said to our host, "Where's the scroll? Where's the scroll?" And they handed me this great big scroll with a ribbon on it and I take the ribbon off and I open it up and it's the nude picture of Marilyn Monroe! And I realized that the joke was on me--they were pulling a fast one. And I could see that only a few of them were in on the gag and a couple of

Schottland: them were looking around smiling, and the rest were waiting for me to read. So, I improvised, figuring I would go along with this gag for a while--and I don't know what I said--something like, "Whereas Ralph Goff has been with the department for fifty years, whereas he has endeared himself to all of us, now, be it resolved, we wish him good luck, as he embarks upon the seas of matrimony. And as I was finishing, I looked down to my right, and there was a little nine-year old--Carl Mulder's little nine-year old boy was there and he was staring wide-eyed at this nude picture--and I lot a little embarrassed myself, and I said "Hello Johnny," and he points at the picture and says, "Gee, Mr. Schottland, how many marbles do you want for it?"

Well, Carl Mulder was a most extremely efficient person. Later he became the head of the national Medicaid program. So we had a very good staff.

Program for the Blind

Levenson: On this subject of your problems, you didn't mention something that seemed to be exceptionally good--the program for the blind.

Schottland: Oh, yes. That's very interesting. I ought to give you a little background in that one. In 1939, Martha Chickering became director of the state Department of Social Welfare. I just got a letter from her by the way yesterday. She's in her eighties, completely deaf, living in Lucerne Valley. She had been professor of social welfare at Berkeley, and she became the director of the department and asked me if I would come up for a six month period to help her reorganize the department.

I did a study--I was deputy director and administrative consultant for six months--and I did a study of the department, reorganized it as I was making the study and ended up with a

Schottland: rather thick volume, which I left behind with recommendations. One of the recommendations was that the blind services be integrated into the Bureau of Public Assistance.

This was done, which immediately made me anathema to the blind organizations of the state because they always opted for a separate role for anyone who was blind. I didn't know that. I rendered my report and I left.

Many years later, when it's announced that I'm going to be the director [of Social Welfare], the blind organizations went to Warren to protest. Because by this time they had succeeded in getting service to the blind set up as a separate unit and they were afraid that I would bring it back into an integrated situation.

And so, Warren had said to me, "You had better make your peace with the blind group." So, I met with them at the home of Jacobus tenBroek, who was a professor of speech at Berkeley. This was one of the best minds that I've ever encountered. Real show-off. He always tried to demonstrate his powers, that you wouldn't expect from a blind person. For example, we had fired two employees, both young women, and they appealed to the state welfare board, over my head, which they were entitled to do. And in the executive session, as we started the discussion, he said, "Well, I could understand how you would fire Miss A., but how could you fire Miss B., she's so beautiful?" Well, she was beautiful. So, in the intermission, I said, "OK, Chick" (we called him). "Give--how did you know she was beautiful? Who told you, one of the women sitting next to you?" He said, "No, nobody told me." I said, "How'd you know?" I said, "Someone had to tell you." He said, "No--I can tell when a woman's attractive." I said, "How can you tell?" He said, "Well, there are little signs. I can tell how older women address a young attractive woman, I can see it in their voice, the antagonism in their voice. And I can tell when our two older women talk to them." He said, "I can always tell when a man addresses a very attractive woman. I can tell from his voice.

Schottland: I can tell how an attractive woman answers a man, when she's talking to him." And he said, "All of these things put together I just know." He says, "I've tested it over the years, and I ask my wife, and she'll always tells me whether I'm right, and I've developed the ability to do it. I was sure in this case."

He was quite a person. They urged me to try to get a blind person to be a member of the social welfare board, and I said, "OK, Dr. tenBroek, will you serve?" He said, "I'd be willing to if the blind would choose me as their person." They were all there and they agreed, but "Warren would never appoint me." I had talked to Warren in advance and knew that he was prepared to appoint tenBroek, after I met with them. So, I just said, "Well, you leave that to me to work out." So, he was appointed on the board.

Levenson: Do you know why he said Warren wouldn't appoint him?

Schottland: I'm not sure.

Levenson: Did it have anything to do with the Japanese-American problem?

Schottland: No, he didn't get into that until much later. He started studying that after this.

No, I think that the blind had been a knotty factor. They were great politicians, the blind group. For instance, tenBroek once was testifying before a congressional committee, and he got up and he was facing the wrong way, and someone came and turned him around so he was facing the committee. Well, by that time he was an old friend of mine. I said, "You fraud. You knew very well where that committee was." He said, "Yes, but it was dramatic, wasn't it?" [Laughter]

Well, the blind group then were separate. There was a very conscientious person who had poor eyesight himself, Perry Sundquist. Perry

Schottland: was not blind, but he had very limited vision, but not blind in the legal sense.*

There had been the start of a program which I really pushed, and that was Prevention of Blindness. It was a crazy situation in California. If a person happened to be blind and needed surgery to regain his sight, if he went into a local welfare office and applied for blind assistance, he might get the operation performed as part of our public assistance program. Or he could get it done as part of our Prevention of Blindness program, which had nothing to do with public assistance. Or he might get it done at the county hospital as part of the county hospital program, without relation to the state's public assistance program. Or he might go to a voluntary hospital, and get it done as part of their charity program. Or he might get it done by a private physician free of charge. Not likely, but it's possible, Or he might get it done if he went into a different office as part of the vocational rehabilitation program, paid by the federal government.

So we started this program without relationship to a person's real financial need. We were very liberal. I think by the time I left, we'd restored sight to twelve hundred people.

You being British--I got to know a British ophthalmologist very well, Sammy somebody or other--came from Northern Ireland, a little town. And he had been working at the Eye Hospital as a resident in London. He came over to Berkeley to do cornea transplants, which was the new thing. And I said to him, "Sammy, why do you come to the United States for practice? You had the

*See Perry Sundquist, "An Interview on Aid to the Blind," Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, 1955, 48pp, and Newel Perry, "Dr. Newel Perry and the California Council for the Blind," Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, 1956, 152pp.

Schottland: biggest eye hospital in the world in London, and you were a resident there." He said, "Yes, but under what you call our socialized medicine plan, we've taken care of all our cornea transplants and there's just an occasional case. But on your purer system of medicine here, you still have a lot of blind people who need cornea transplants, so I get good practice." He later left Great Britain and came to Vancouver, Canada, where he's practicing now as an ophthalmologist.

This was a very good program.

Levenson: And you managed to eliminate, then, all these alternative groups--

Schottland: No, they still existed, and I imagine exist to this day--I don't know. They all existed, but we just became the major outfit. In those days corneas were not put into banks, so that when a person died and willed his corneas to us, we had a few hours from the time of taking the cornea off until it could be transplanted without deterioration. So what we would do is have the blind person who was next in line be available on the telephone, so that we could rush him to the hospital. We would have five or six waiting, so if the first person wasn't home, or was ill or something, we'd get the next person. That's the way we had to handle it in those days. We had the best ophthalmologists in the state on the panel.

Levenson: It's a remarkable achievement. I notice you had something like a 95% success rate.

Schottland: Yes, well we had very, very good people. We had a panel of ophthalmologists who approved the panel of persons doing the surgery. Although they were tops themselves, they could not take cases as long as they were on our overall panel, so that there wouldn't be any prejudice.

Levenson: But this also was socialized medicine. How did you overcome the doctors' resistance?

Schottland: Because the top ophthalmologists were in charge on our advisory committee. They chose the panel, and therefore they could do no wrong.

Levenson: How did you get the top ophthalmologists?

Schottland: It was a new program. Here was a chance to get cornea transplants with good pay for doctors. We paid 250 dollars for the operation. That was an awful lot of money in those days. And they got paid. They didn't have to worry about the patients.

So we had high standards, and also it was a specialized thing. If it had been general practice, it would have been difficult, but it was very specialized, and most doctors were not competent to handle this kind of thing, so they didn't bother about it.

Changes in State Welfare Due to Federal Action

Levenson: How do you feel that the forms in which state welfare was administered changed during the time that you were associated with California social welfare because of changes in federal law and federal supervision?

Schottland: There were fundamental changes due to federal law, federal financing, personal relationships with federal people, federal dictation, some things going beyond the law, beyond the regulations--based on personal idiosyncracies. I would say it would be five or six areas that were fundamental in terms of bringing about change. The first change--not in order of importance, but just as they occur to me--was the strengthening of the state welfare department, because federal law required that if administered by the counties, the state law and regulation must be binding on the counties, and the final authority was the state.

Levenson: So the strengthening was vis-à-vis the counties.

Schottland: It was vis-a-vis the counties, and because of that it was vis-a-vis state government generally, because it made it very strong.

Second, vis-a-vis other state agencies, another requirement of federal law was that there must be a single state agency, and because there must be a single state agency, the functions that had previously been divided into other state agencies were not permissible.

Well, that was the second change. For example, to show you the effect of that provision--the State Controller took the position that his obligation to protect state funds necessitated his putting auditors in the field to review expenditures. The requirement of the federal government that there must be a single state agency killed this idea.

The third area which made a fundamental change was the merit system--the requirement under federal law that where the counties or the state did not have a complete civil service system, there must be a merit system. Now, more than half of the counties of California did not have civil service, so that this was a real revolution, requiring them to have a merit system. But the federal government went further than the law. They didn't say that the state develop a merit system, which if you can demonstrate is a good merit system will be approved. They had their own idea as to what kind of merit system; and they said it had to be a merit system based on an examination which they had to approve, to show that the standards were OK, and you had to take for each position one person from the top three. Now, one can argue that this is not a merit system. This is a merit system of one kind, and I don't even think it's a good merit system. But they insisted on this kind of merit system.

Now, what happened as they insisted under the law on a merit system, forget the exact kind--it forced the counties to go civil service. Because very few county supervisors could stand the heat of having the merit system applied to one

Schottland: of their largest departments, the welfare department, but not applied to police or sheriff's or fire department or something else. And so many counties, rather than struggle with a merit system in one phase of county government and straight political appointments on the other, they just decided, "The hell with it; we'll go civil service or we'll put everything on a merit system." So, it was the tail wagging the dog. This little thing resulted in upgrading the standard of public service in the counties of the state, because so many of them, the welfare department going on a merit system basis caused them to do it on everything.

So this is another thing that changed state government, in effect.

Another fundamental change based on federal law related to a concept that was totally foreign to California, namely the right of the client to appeal. There was no right before; they didn't have any right to appeal to anybody. The setting up of an appeals machinery was a new concept in the welfare department. So this was another thing that was done.

Another factor that came into play was that under federal law, assistance had to be given in cash. Now before federal law until the Social Security Act came into being, relief was primarily in kind. This is, grocery baskets, and so forth.

I remember as a young social actionist, I was president of the local social work organization in the 30's, before I went into the State Relief Administration. And we did battle with the county of Los Angeles, and we won. And it was a radical improvement in their practices. The improvement involved making it possible for young girls on relief to come to the warehouse run by the welfare department and choose their dresses, rather than having the workers hand the dresses to them in their homes! Now this sounds so archaic today, but it was something very important at the time. It was a liberalization which we thought was pretty radical in terms of current practices.

Schottland: Suddenly along comes, first, Harry Hopkins with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and they start talking about cash. Now whoever had heard about giving cash to the poor. They wouldn't know how to use it. The image was they were ignorant, and you just didn't give cash to such people. Now it's true the Depression changed this image, because people from middle class families got on relief. But primarily this wasn't a question of change, it was just a question of the federal government forcing the issue. And I recall even during the Depression, even with the directives from Harry Hopkins, we could never get around the pressures of the milk companies to deliver milk, and not give the people cash to buy it, on the grounds that the babies would suffer if they didn't get it, and of course the creameries would suffer too if they didn't get the money, because there'd be less money spent for milk. So at any rate, this was another thing that the federal government did.

I mentioned another thing in the way they skewed around the state government, through federal law and regulations. I mentioned before the trend prior to 1933-34-35 was to develop bureaus of family services. The Children's Bureau, not based on law, but based on the biases of the representatives of the Children's Bureau, forced the start of separate bureaus of child welfare, and pressed this very, very hard. This was another factor. It's illustrated also by other programs. For example, vocational rehabilitation. They took the position out of Washington, partly based on law and partly based on their own biases, that federal money would be available only if vocational rehabilitation was in a separate department of its own, or part of the Department of Education.

Levenson: Why did they do that?

Schottland: For several reasons. In the first place, they didn't want it in the Welfare Department, because they didn't want the welfare connotation. They didn't want to have this tied to a needs test. They couldn't insist on separate departments, for

Schottland: fear the program wouldn't get started because the states wouldn't establish separate departments. Putting it in the Department of Education gave it an education flavor, that it wasn't a relief program, wasn't for the poor; it was a reeducation of a disabled person. Also, the knowledgeable Washington people recognized that if it were in the Department of Education with mostly federal funds, that they would pretty much have control of the program. With the Welfare Department they'd have trouble, but not with the Departments of Education.

Levenson: Do you think this was a valid judgment?

Schottland: It was a valid judgment, yes, based on the reasons that I've given. It was a bad judgment in terms of advancing the vocational rehabilitation program, because it made it a second-rate program. It was way down the line in these huge departments of education. For example, when I became welfare director in California, practically no member of the legislature knew the head of the vocational rehabilitation program by name. It was so far down the hierarchy in the Department of Education.

So, in effect, what federal law required, whether it was Congressional enactment or administrative regulation which had the effect of law and which superseded any administration regulation coming out of Washington, superseded a legislative enactment of the California legislature or any other state. It forced state government to reorganize itself along lines that would get federal money. And it not only affected programs, it affected the very bureaucracy of the state.

The Role of Private Agencies in Effecting Change

Levenson: Would you say that the federal government perhaps with the private agencies was the most effective agent in shifting from a poor law--relief, charity perspective--to a professional perspective on welfare to those in need?

Schottland: Yes. Certainly the federal government was the most important factor. I would say that voluntary agencies were not as important in terms of the final result as their activity would indicate. That is, if you take the record of their appearances before the legislature and all the literature they issued, that they would appear to be a much more important factor than they actually were. Actually, there was much buzzing around on the part of the voluntary agencies, but they were very poor lobbyists, and they had very little effective relationship with the legislature.

Now it is true that the voluntary agencies would get their views known to the welfare department. For example, in the child welfare field, the child welfare people had an advisory group of the voluntary agencies. They always checked regulations and changes with them. The voluntary agencies would come back with suggestions. The bureaucrats would then adopt them, recommend them to the legislature. So to that extent, they may have been quite influential. But in terms of major changes, I would say the federal government was the big factor, not the voluntary agencies.

Levenson: Would that include the professionalization and upgrading of social workers as a profession?

Schottland: I would say that the pressures of the federal government was more important than the pressure from the voluntary agencies, by far.

The Role of State Administrators in Shaping
Federal Policy

- Levenson: You've mentioned several times your relationships with the state legislature. I don't think we talked at all about the Congressional delegation in Washington. Did you get any help from them?
- Schottland: No, we didn't have much relationship with them. From '50 to '54 when I was there, mostly when we had problems we would go to the senators from California. We didn't need much help. We were always able to settle our problems without calling on them. Where we called on the Congressional delegations was not in relationship to our own specific problems, but when we were developing a state point of view with other states, where we were getting together something antagonistic or opposed to the federal position. And then we'd all be together. This was a joint effort.
- Levenson: Can you give me an example?
- Schottland: Yes, the outstanding example was when the [Dwight David] Eisenhower administration came in, Mrs. [Oveta Culp] Hobby and her staff felt that the administrative expenses of public assistance were too high. They put through--I'm a little unclear in my mind right now--just how it was put through, but I think it was an amendment to an appropriations bill, and it went through the House, which put a limit, I think, of five percent on the grants from the federal government--no more than that could be used for administrative purposes. The law provided that fifty percent of your administrative expense would be reimbursed by the federal government. This put a limit--fifty percent, but not above five percent of the total grant. It passed the House of Representatives; we were all unaware of what was happening. It passed very quickly. So, we went to see Mrs. Hobby. I was chairman of the state relief administrators. Our position was that this is a partnership between the federal and the state governments, and you can't do this. We have to ask our legislature for money to make up the difference. This has to

Schottland: be worked cooperatively, so that we have time to work this out. Assuming it's fair, we would go for it, but that you can't do this on your own. And that if you attempt it on your own, you just don't get it through the Congress. Her attitude was--in the first place she wouldn't meet with us, and we arranged a meeting through Agnes Meyer, the publisher of the Washington Post, at her home, so that it was informal, so that there be nothing formal about the Secretary meeting with the states. We presented this point of view. Now Mrs. Hobby's position at that time was sort of 'Upon what meat doth this our administrators feed,' that they think they can stop this new administration from getting this through?

Well after we left, the legislation was a dead duck. All we did was we divided forces. We each took several states; we called the state administrators. We all knew each other by first names; we were all very close, as I assume they are today. They'd get to the governors of their state and say, "This is going to cost the state of Nevada X dollars." The governor calls the senators; it had already passed the House, so we didn't have to worry about that. And it was dead; just as simple as that. Killed in committee. So that's an illustration.

I would say that anything the state administrators agreed upon to kill was dead in the Congress. If they agreed on putting something through that was affirmative, they might not be able to do it.

Let me put it another way. I would say that the two partners, the states and the federal government, if one objected, it was hard to get legislation through. If they both objected, it was impossible to get the legislation through. If they both were in favor of it, they might get it through. But I think the facts of life were that the state administrators were and are very powerful.

The Social Welfare Community and Health Insurance

Levenson: Then a problem throughout Warren's administration that has continued to this day was health insurance. I know that Warren was a pioneer in trying to push some form of medical insurance through in the Forties and failed. Can you comment on that from your perspective?

Schottland: The social welfare community was a hundred percent behind Warren's efforts. It was ahead of his time, but he had prepared his ground work very carefully in introducing it; the materials were all well-developed, the case was clearly made, and the Medical Association employed the firm of Whitaker and Baxter--top notch public relations people. Their campaign against it was vicious.

When the Baxter firm was employed, a vicious campaign against health insurance started. The campaign degenerated not only into an attack on the bill itself, on the merits, but into an attack on Warren personally. How much the Baxter firm was involved in this, I don't know. But certainly a lot of doctors were. At that time Warren had some surgery done, during the middle of this fight, or maybe shortly thereafter. It was relatively minor surgery; it may have been major surgery technically--I don't know, it was a stomach operation or something--but it was relatively minor on the scale of anything serious. But I'm not exaggerating to say that I personally heard maybe a dozen doctors over a period of months talk about this. It was a "terminal malignancy." "It was a very serious thing which would incapacitate him for the future." They knew because a friend of theirs was in the amphitheater and watched the surgery, or they got it from someone--I was so angry, at one social affair, when one of the doctors mentioned that some friend of his was in the amphitheater, I burst out with, "You know, if everyone I've heard of was watching this surgery, it would have had to have been in the coliseum, number one. Number two, there was no place for visitors in this room." That I had ascertained. "So that this is just a

Schottland: bunch of lies." Well, it was a very strange social affair, for which my wife gave me hell.

But it was a vicious kind of campaign. After it [health insurance] was killed; there were repercussions for a year. But for the most part, while I was in Sacramento it was a dead issue. It wasn't discussed very seriously any place.

Governor Knight's Administration: An Evaluation

Levenson: Is there anything more you'd like to say about your years as Director of Social Welfare in California before you went to Washington?

Schottland: Well there's one very interesting comment which I think is indicative of what happens to people when they come to power--that's what happened after Warren left and Goodwin Knight came in as governor. And that is that men frequently rise to the occasion and the opportunities of power. We saw this happen, it seems to me, with Harry Truman--he certainly gave no promise of being as good a president as he became.

Goody Knight had come in with a record of being not just a conservative, but a real reactionary, if anything. He had broken the tie on some kind of fair housing or fair employment bill--against it, while he was presiding as lieutenant governor over the senate. He came in as governor, and immediately adopted a middle-of-the-road position on practically all political, social, economic issues. Many of his positions were extremely liberal, so that the AF of L, for example, which was seriously opposed to him while he was lieutenant governor, became a big supporter of his while he was governor because he was playing ball with them.

The same thing happened to me. Some representatives of employers' groups--whether they officially represented the state chamber of

Schottland: commerce, or whether they were just important employers--it was never quite clear to me--came to Knight right after he took office, the first or second day, and asked that he release me as welfare director--for no particular reason, other than that I had said that these people, when they testified before the state legislature some months previously, were lying. That was the only reason they had--I had called them public liars--liars publicly.

Levenson: Would you mind describing the incident?

Schottland: I'll be glad to when I finish this. It would have been easy for Knight to release me; we were all tendering our resignations. Instead, without even talking to me, he announced at a press conference that he was reappointing me, and I think I was his first appointment. There may have been others, but I think I was the first. And I went to see him and said, "How come you reappointed me without even talking about it?" He said, "Well, don't you want to stay on?" I said, "Yes I do, but I know that some of your friends were here and asked that I be released." He said, "How do you know that?" I said, "Oh, I have my ear to the ground." He said, "Yes they did, but I didn't pay any attention to it." And he said, "I'd like very much to have you stay." And he supported me, while he was there.

Now I think it illustrates what happens when a person gets into a top job, where he doesn't have to worry about relationships on a parallel with him, and above him, where he just has to worry about relationship below him--nobody on a parallel, nobody above him, and so there's a different kind of psychology.

The incident about which I spoke had to do with the bill to establish the aid to the permanently and totally disabled, under the Social Security Act. It was permissive with states; and the state chamber of commerce appointed a committee to study this. They asked me to serve on the committee, and Warren thought I should. The committee was stacked; I was practically the

Schottland: only one in favor of adopting the legislation. It not only was stacked, but they had meetings without me. So that it was not only stacked, but it was dishonest. It came up with a recommendation opposing the program.

But in the assembly side, the lower house, their testimony was to the effect that a committee of the state chamber, including the Director of Social Welfare, had come out against the program. Now technically, that was absolutely true. It was a committee of the chamber; I was a member of the committee. The committee had come out against it. But the impression they intended to give was that I had come out against it too, and that my taking the other position was something I had to do because of my job. So I told the chief lobbyist for the state chamber of commerce that if they said the same thing on the senate side, I would call them publicly. He didn't think I'd have the nerve to, because they were all big-shot industrialists and lawyers, and so they did the same thing on the senate side.

So, I asked one of the senators what impression he got of this, when I started my testimony. He said, "I got the impression that this committee came out against it, and that you were part of this committee that came out against it." So I said, "Well if that's the impression you got, which I'm sure is the impression they seek to create, they're lying." I deliberately used the word, "lying." I thought of saying, "misrepresentation," and then I thought, "What the hell; let's put it right on the table."

So they didn't like me for that. We finally got the program through, but it was delayed. They defeated it for one session of the legislature. Incidentally, the counties were opposed to it too, even though it meant money for them, because they would be forced to transfer many of their general relief cases. But they would rather lose the money, than have more state control with another program. Also their feeling was that in the long run it would not save them money, because we would be so liberal on the state side that new

Schottland: people would come into the program, and therefore the initial savings would be eaten up. I don't think that was ever true. I think what happened was, they really saved tremendous money.

Levenson: Can you say who they were--people who were on the committee with you and were opposed to this legislation?

Schottland: Well the chairman of this committee was quite a liberal, who went along with them. He was a San Francisco attorney, by the name of Lloyd Dinkelspiel. He was chairman of the committee. Then there was an attorney from one of the leading law firms in Los Angeles (don't hold me to this)--the firm of Gibson, Dunn, & Crutcher, and his name may have been Ott. That's what just clicks in my mind, but I just don't remember for sure.

The committee was really masterminded by Arthur Will who was the director of the Welfare Department in Los Angeles. He was a very powerful person with the state chamber of commerce, and very powerful with the state legislature. He and I were very good friends personally, and vicious enemies philosophically. We always were opposing each other in the legislature, but we never discussed this outside. We always would have a drink together, we were over at each other's home for dinner. Whenever the counties needed help with the legislature, they'd call on Arthur Will to come up and throw his weight around. He had weight.

Levenson: And the industrialists?

Schottland: I don't remember who they were. There were eight or ten of them on this committee.

The Governor, Earl Warren, gave it [Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled] complete support all the way through. Eventually we got it through.

Levenson: So, to sum up what you were saying about Governor Knight. What I understood you to say was that, contrary to your expectations, his policy was not significantly different from Warren's?

Schottland: That's correct. He supported all of the liberal measures while I was there, and I think after I left too.

Levenson: And did you have as much access to him as you did to Warren?

Schottland: Yes. Just the same, and I was on broadcasts with him, and we had some joint speaking dates. Very easy access to him.

Schottland as Commissioner of Social Security:
The States Seen from Washington

Levenson: Then you left state service and went to Washington in '54. What was your position then?

Schottland: I was Commissioner of Social Security.

Levenson: When you were doing that, were there any changes in your view of welfare administration and policy as a result of your federal experiences? What sort of perspective did you then get on California?

Schottland: Well, I saw that California, in spite of what I had always seen as essentially a very backward public assistance program, was actually one of the leaders and one of the most liberal of the states. I might explain first that at the time I was Commissioner, from '54 to '59, Social Security involved not just what is now under the Commissioner of Social Security, namely your old age, survivors, disability and health insurance. It also included all of your public assistance and child welfare programs. So that if the administration had remained the same, it would have included under the one man, old age, survivors, disability and health insurance, medicaid, all public assistance, all child welfare. One of the things I did when I was leaving was to recommend that the thing be divided up. And they later did divide it up into two commissioners--the Commissioner of Social Security and the Commissioner of Welfare. They later abolished

Schottland: the Commissioner of Welfare and divided the functions in different ways, which is rather complicated.

Levenson: It was a tremendous job at the time you headed it.

Schottland: Yes but it didn't mean I was in intimate contact with the states.

Now I came to a number of conclusions I would not have come to as a state person. I was in a different role, had a different perspective, and therefore developed different biases. One was that in certain kinds of programs, you'd never have a good program as long as the states operated the thing independently. Unemployment insurance was a good example. I saw old age insurance under Social Security develop and become more liberal because it was administered efficiently. I saw unemployment insurance under the same Act, the same principles, the same philosophy, get stymied in its development, be administered very inefficiently by the states, so that citizens of Massachusetts, working for General Electric, would get twice as much, if they became unemployed, as citizens in another state working for General Electric, because it was a state program. And I became convinced that where you had a national problem, you could not have an adequate solution through state operation. And only where there were great differences in philosophy and other things could you have a state operated program.

So I soon became a federally-oriented person as opposed to a state-oriented person. Instead of being chairman of the state administrators, I became a person who was opposed to what the states frequently were proposing. So this is one thing that changed, in terms of my orientation. I became convinced that, take public assistance, many poor on public assistance would starve, so long as we had state control over the standards of assistance. Just as we no longer permitted the states to decide who could vote; we decide that federally, through federal law and judicial decisions, we should no

Schottland: longer leave to the states the decision as to who should eat. So I became a proponent of federalization of all public assistance.

I couldn't advocate it too broadly. I would deliver a paper at professional meetings. I couldn't go before Congress and shout at the housetops. I was in administration--but my views were pretty well known. The only advantage of state operation, or one of the advantages of state operation, was that when Congress went on an economy jag, as they did every three or four years, and started to reduce the money which went to states, you did get a concerted move on the part of states to protect what they had. The result was Congress couldn't cut. This was an important factor. But outside of that, I think it was just a wrong thing.

That's why I'm encouraged by some of the present moves to have a guaranteed income in HRL, now before Congress, and although most of my friends are opposed to HRL, they're opposed, I think, for the same reason they've always had--what I call an "unholy alliance" against any liberal welfare measure. You've always had the reactionaries and the radicals, the liberals and the conservatives opposed to every major improvement in the welfare system. For absolutely opposite reasons. The conservatives and the reactionaries because it was too radical. The liberals and the radicals because it was too niggardly, in terms of the level of grant or because of some other oppressive feature. Both sides were right. Both the liberals and the conservatives were right. These reforms have been too radical; they have been too meager and ineffective. The fact remains that in our type of democracy it's the way you make progress. I fear that HRL, which has been introduced by Nixon, is going to be defeated because of the combination.

I just got something in the mail in which they have a combination here of the National Urban League, the National Welfare Rights Organization, the National Council of Churches,

Schottland: which is Protestant, the Child Welfare League of America, the Family Service Association of America, the Black Congressional Caucus--they've all combined to oppose the bill. And they're asking me if I will let my name be used as one of the people on the national committee to oppose it.

Levenson: For the record, what do you think your decision will be on that?

Schottland: Oh, I will not join; I think the way to handle this is to get amendments to it. Now you'll never get enough amendments to make it completely acceptable to me or to any other liberal person in this field, but look at what is happening through this. Whatever may be the inadequacies and the difficulties, you've got for the first time in the history of civilization, you've got a very important, top person, namely the President of the United States, advocating, in effect, a guaranteed minimum income for all people. Now I say the principle is worth preserving, and I would fight on the other things. If it's defeated, I think we're sunk for ten years on a guaranteed minimum income. I would be willing to make a lot of concessions. I am a minority of one among my colleagues. No, not one, Wilbur Cohen is in favor of this too. But these are all my organizations, including one I was president of, the National Association of Social Workers. I think it's not the way to get legislation, to oppose something because it has many bad features--you try to amend them out.

California's Standing in the Welfare Field

Levenson: You commented that when you got to Washington you found, somewhat to your surprise, that California's standing was high amongst the states in terms of the generosity of its administration of social welfare. How do you account for this?

Schottland: California has always been a combination of the most liberal state politically, and the most

Schottland: conservative. Take for instance, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall all started in California. I'm not sure whether it was the first state but it was the first important state to have these three things part of its system. At the same time, it was the first to have the vicious anti-syndicalism laws used against labor. It started right from the beginning to have a good public school system with good standards for teachers, so the public school system was very superior in terms of anything the rest of the country had. It was probably one of the best, if not the best in the nation.

At the same time, you had some very vicious practices in the public schools. You had Senator [Hiram Warren] Johnson leading the trust-busting campaign, and you had some of the worst trusts in the country in the state. It's always had opposing positions. No state in the union had a campaign such as the EPIC campaign of Upton Sinclair. He almost was governor! This in a conservative state. They spent a fortune to defeat him. And so you had the most vicious administration of public assistance side by side with the most liberal laws and the most liberal cash grant.

Levenson: Is there anything else you want to say about your Washington years, particularly as they refer to California?

Schottland: California gave very little trouble to the federal bureaucrats. They generally conformed to federal regulations. There were some problems in the early days, but by the time I got there they were pretty well settled. You didn't have political interference in appointments the way you did in Massachusetts, for example--Massachusetts was always a problem.

They always had some gimmick to make political appointments, in spite of the merit system. For example, pick out a city, Cambridge--I don't think it ever happened in Cambridge, but let's assume it did--they'd send a list of thirty names that came out of the civil service exam. So the city

Schottland: officials would say, "We don't have any prejudice against Bostonians, but we like to give Cambridge people the edge. You're welcome to take the job, but we don't know whether you'll pass the probation." So he waives. The next person--"We don't have any prejudice against blacks, but you know we've never had a black social worker on our staff. We don't know that you'll pass the probationary period." So he waives. So all of them would waive. Then they'd certify that they have no eligible list, and they could make temporary appointments of people who were too stupid to pass the civil service exam, which was geared to have anyone who could breathe able to pass it. But these people couldn't pass it anyway. But they'd make these political appointments.

Well, you had this in many states; not in California. So from the standpoint of the federal bureaucrats, you just didn't have any trouble in California. So it was a pleasure to work with the state.

A Retrospective View of Warren

Levenson: Do you want to make a retrospective view of Earl Warren and social welfare? Did he change much, were the changes brought about by his political experiences, or by what you mentioned in reference to Governor Knight--the effects of the office, which would be generally applicable to any governor?

Schottland: I don't think the office changed his fundamental convictions. I think the office added new programs, new ideas, that came within the scope of his day-to-day activities upon which he had to make decisions. To that extent that was new; he never had to make a decision on health insurance before he was governor. He never had to make a decision on whether he would support aid to permanently and totally disabled. So that I think essentially his fundamental belief in people and the fact that in American democracy everyone was

Schottland: entitled to a decent standard or level of living--that these things would just always come to the fore whenever he analyzed what his position should be on any program. As I mentioned before, he always had--I might use a little slang--he always had a gut feeling, a visceral feeling that was right, without knowing all of the facts or studying the thing. He always came out on the right side of these issues. He was and is a highly moral person, and I'm sure that, sub-consciously, without even thinking it through, he'd always think, "Now what is the moral thing to do; what is the right thing to do?" For a person who was really a very capable politician, in the political sense, this was a rather unusual attitude. He always took this position. He didn't compromise on legislation because it was the right political thing to do. He always tried to figure out what was right. He was sort of three steps above the political fray. And, so thoroughly honest intellectually--it was a pleasure to work with him and for him. I think everybody felt this.

Levenson: Did your viewpoint of Warren change as you worked with him?

Schottland: I don't know that it changed. It became more confirmed. Right from the beginning I felt that he was warm, really liked people. That he had an instinctive feeling for what was right. I recall when he was nominated for the Supreme Court position, a friend of mine had a dinner party, and there were mostly lawyers. Afterwards, we all got around in a circle, and we started the discussion, "Is this a good appointment?" I didn't say anything for a long time. I was very angry at what was being said. The general consensus was that this was not a good appointment, that Warren was not a good lawyer, and that the appointment should have gone to a legal scholar, which he was not. That he hadn't written in the field of law, and was not a scholar.

Finally our host turned to me and said, "You know him. You haven't commented." So my comments were, "I think all of you have an entirely incorrect

Schottland: idea of what the Supreme Justice of the United States Supreme Court ought to be like. There are other countries where you don't even have to be a judge to be a member of the highest court. In fact, you don't need a legal scholar in this type of position. You need a person who understands the law, and can interpret it correctly, but a person who, at the same time, has a feeling for what is right, and that's what will make good law."

I took the position at this dinner that (I got no support from the attorneys there. There were a large number of prominent ones.) I took the position that the fundamental issues before the Supreme Court were ten percent law and ninety percent philosophy, and one's ideology, one's conviction, one's faith, and the way one saw society--that one could interpret the law liberally or strictly, and what was right frequently could be made into law without the necessity for specific legislation but by court decision, and I felt that this would be his particular contribution. I felt it very strongly, and said so on many occasions, because I just knew how unerringly he went to the core of an issue, without even knowing all of the background facts. He just would sense what was right.

Levenson: Well, that proved very prescient. That was the criticism and the praise for the Warren Court.

Schottland: Yes. Then, he had another ability which I didn't think of at the time, which certainly was a factor in his going down in history as a great judge, and that is his ability to bring people together. He was a patient negotiator. He would just sit around the table and keep talking, and talking, and suggesting ways of getting together. That helped, because what I sense--it's never been written up yet, but what I sense from all the rumors around Washington, there was a lot of difference of opinion among the judges in the Brown case, the first segregation case. And even after they all agreed, there was a feeling on the part of many that they wanted to write a concurring opinion.

Schottland: It's incredible to me that he could get Felix Frankfurter on such an important decision not to insist on a concurring opinion. But this was part of his great ability. He had the ability to talk through every issue and work out a solution. So--but someday that story will have to be told by the people who must know it. And it will be a great story I think.

He persuaded everybody not to write a concurring opinion on the ground that it would complicate the issue, and it had to be very clear, and not foggy. But this was another ability of his.

Plus his energy. A few weeks ago we had the White House Conference on Aging in Washington. He was chairman of an open-ended session at which every one of the 3000 delegates who wanted to speak would be given an opportunity. I was the chairman of the committee that arranged the meeting. He'd asked me to do it so that we wouldn't be going all night. We worked out a deal whereby everyone had a three-minute limit and they had to submit a two or three-line statement of what they were going to talk about in advance. We drew their numbers from a jar so that--we'd call four or five in advance, and they'd line up before the mikes.

We started talking at 7:00 p.m. and finished at a quarter to twelve. Eighty-three people spoke, and he never left the podium. He stood all that period of time, and what is he now? Eighty? He stood up all that time, and I went up to him three or four times, and I said, "Governor,"--(all the old-timers call him Governor)--"Governor, why don't you sit down during the three-minute speaking?" He said, "Well, it's easier to keep control of this crowd, if I keep standing." He stood up during that whole period. I was tired sitting.

It would be so interesting to have his wife do a series of interviews, but she won't do it. She's quite a person. I remember about 1950 or '51, they had a circus in the round that comes to Sacramento, and both of them used to go, and I used to go too. She was such an informal person. Once he was surrounded by all his admirers--people

Schottland: always surrounded him. She was standing on the edge, so I said, "I'm going out to get a drink or a hotdog or something, would you like to come?" So we went out there, and she ordered a hotdog, and there we were munching hotdogs. And it's not the image that she creates. She's a very dignified person, but very informal. Just the sort of perfect woman for him. Her second marriage.

Levenson: That's a nice story.

Schottland: She's still an attractive woman, in spite of her age. She's in her middle seventies I guess. They're both just such a charming couple. Even his opponents used to love the guy personally.

He was such a dignified person; he made a good appearance physically. And he was very formal. Oh, I've got to tell you this story about him--Sacramento is in the center of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys. They join at Sacramento. In the summer it is ungodly hot--terribly hot. In the two respective valleys, in the small towns, no one wears a tie and jacket in the summer. The judges, particularly in those days when air-conditioning wasn't so prominent, would come in sportshirts. Lawyers would appear in court in sportshirts. And in the city of Sacramento, most people wore jackets and ties because it was state service.

Warren's cabinet had a meeting at which he was not present and agreed that if we could get the Governor to come to one of his cabinet meetings, with the press all there, with all of us wearing sportshirts, this would set a new style for the city of Sacramento. I was delegated, against my desire, by the cabinet, to take it up with the Governor, on the grounds that I had more contact with him than most of the others.

I mentioned to him that the cabinet had decided to do this and asked me to discuss it with him and check it. He looked at me for two or three seconds, and then started discussing another subject. As I left, I said, "In other words, we're

Schottland: not going to change the style." So, he was very formal about these thing and felt that officials should not be, I guess, too casual in their dress. At any rate, it was an interesting experience.

That would just have been foreign to him, to think in terms of a governor of the state of California coming to a meeting of his cabinet in shirtsleeves and an open collar. This just was not his cup of tea. And yet he was so informal in personal relationships. You didn't have to stand on formalities at all--any one of his people could call him up and get right through and talk to him on the phone or see him--you didn't even have to have an appointment. You'd come up and squeeze in. He always gave preference to his cabinet. You could always sort of squeeze in. And I think this applied pretty much to most of the cabinet. I only knew the health and welfare people well, but certainly all of them could get in any time.

He's an amazing person.

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Newton B. Drury

A CONSERVATIONIST COMMENTS ON EARL WARREN AND HAROLD TUCKER

An Interview Conducted by
Amelia R. Fry



Newton B. Drury
1945

Photograph by Ansel Adams

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COMMENTS ON NEWTON DRURY

by Merrell F. Small, Departmental Secretary to Governor Earl Warren

My recollection of the circumstances resulting in the appointment by Governor Warren of Newton B. Drury as Chief of the Division of Beaches and Parks, State of California, (and "Chief" was the title at the time) is that the Governor himself, after ordering the dismissal of A.E. "Chick" Henning from the job, suggested to the State Park Commission the appointment of Mr. Drury.

Henning was fired for a pretty raw case of "conflict of interest." He and others formed a company to bid on the parking lot concession at Huntington Beach State Park, and as chief of the division Henning awarded the contract to his company. There were newspaper stories about it, and I think I was the first to call the Governor's attention to these. In any event, I was with him in his office when he first learned of the bad publicity and he immediately placed a telephone call to J.R. Knowland of Oakland, publisher of the Oakland Tribune, and chairman throughout the Warren administration of the State Park Commission.

When Knowland came on the telephone, Warren told him he had just read of Henning's malfeasance, and then, "Get rid of him, J.R."

I think there is special interest in this conversation in that it rather contradicts the feeling that had sometimes been expressed (and of course still is!) that because of the support Warren received over the years from the Tribune, he was subservient to Mr. Knowland. There was nothing subservient in the tone of authority Warren used when he said, "Get rid of him, J.R.!" As a matter of fact, Mr. Knowland was as respectful of the Governor of California, who happened to be Earl Warren of Oakland, as any of the people who served the State from 1943 to 1953. I was present with the two men on a number of occasions, and I never heard Mr. Knowland address Warren except as "Governor." He did not presume to call him "Earl" at any of those times.

At all events, the Park Commission, which had the power of appointment of the Division's director, asked Newton Drury to take the position, which of course meant handing in his resignation as director of the United States National Park Service, which he did on January 19, 1951, amid a controversy over his opposition to the dams proposed in Dinosaur National Monument.

This recalls the other event of which I have personal knowledge, indeed in which I was involved, having to do with a telegram from Harold Ickes, the former Secretary of Interior, protesting Drury's appointment to the State job.

The telegram is no doubt in the Warren Papers in the State Archives at Sacramento, which at this date are still kept under seal at Mr. Warren's order. I know that it was a very long Western Union message and a typically Ickes diatribe.

In it he informed Governor Warren that Newton Drury was totally unqualified to be Chief of the State Division of Beaches and Parks, or any other position of responsibility in the field of natural resources conservation. Ickes threatened dire consequences if the State insisted on putting Drury in the job, even going so far, I think, of threatening to seek a court injunction against it. I could be wrong as to this, for Ickes was sufficiently grounded in the law, I am sure, to know that such a remedy was not available to him; but I do remember that the telegram was as lurid and threatening as Ickes could make it, and he was the master of purple prose if there ever was one.

Governor Warren handed me the telegram and said, "You write him a letter over your signature telling him you will call his message to my attention when you have the opportunity to do so."

We both grinned.

* * *

By reason of his deep experience and unassailable character and reputation, Newton Drury provided the leadership to the Beaches and Parks personnel that they had not had under Henning. A significant undertaking was the initiation of negotiations with the Rockefeller family looking to funding acquisition of the South Grove of Calaveras sequoia gigantea and associated stands of magnificent sugar pine trees. In this there was the interesting consortium of three University classmates of 1912--Governor Warren, Mr. Drury, and Mr. Horace Marden Albright, the Rockefeller family's advisor when requests were pending for contributions to national parks and similar areas. Acquisition of the South Grove was consummated in the Goodwin Knight administration, but the negotiations had been well advanced before Earl Warren, upon his appointment as Chief Justice of the United States, resigned as Governor of California and was succeeded by Mr. Knight. Mr. Drury, continuing as Chief of the Division of Beaches and Parks, received Governor Knight's hearty support in the South Grove project.

A study of the records may not disclose one intangible but much appreciated aspect of Drury's management of the parks: that the public benefitted greatly from the improvement of the Division's morale, both in the field and at headquarters in Sacramento.

Merrell F. Small
Former Departmental Secretary
to Governor Warren

17 May 1974
Berkeley, California

INTERVIEW HISTORY

Already deposited in The Bancroft Library is a two-volume memoir produced by this office* in which Newton B. Drury relates his personal history, his half-century's work at saving redwoods, and his administration of the National Park Service and the California State Beaches and Parks. The manuscript included herein is a small postscript focusing on his contacts with Earl Warren, who was his classmate, his friend, and the governor who appointed him in 1951 to head up the state parks.

In addition, he records here his commentary on the primary cause of his return to California from Washington--the old Olympic National Park spruce misunderstanding with former Interior Secretary Harold Ickes, and his resistance to then-Secretary Oscar Chapman, who advocated the plan to dam two rivers in Dinosaur National Monument. A view of the circumstances of Drury's appointment as seen from the Governor's office was written for the Drury manuscript at our request by Merrell F. Small, the Governor's departmental liaison man, and we gratefully acknowledge this supplementation by including it as a front paper.

This conversation was taped in San Francisco in his Save-the-Redwoods League offices in the financial district. He had reviewed and stacked on his desk his old "Warren" folders and other pertinent papers which would ultimately be deposited, and it is these to which he refers in the interview. As we talked, the bustling offices in the League's suite seemed remote from our quiet place near a window view of the city. As we went back in time undisturbed, he was forgiving and gently amused by Ickes' precipitous outburst. And as he looked back over the long march of years in which he and Earl Warren had obviously shared common concerns in conservation, government, and class reunions, he searched for the image or the anecdote that would explain to an outsider what he saw: a half century and more of warm, mutual respect.

It was a bright fall day in 1970, and after the session we had walked up a gusty street for lunch in a nearby restaurant, a procedure that had become a happy tradition for us.

As he has done many times before for the Oral History Office, he corrected the transcript and returned it with some deletions of irrelevancies and a few additions and corrections. Any Drury manuscript also contains those irresistible improvements--very few, but some--in our conversational use of the English language, of which he holds such beautiful command, for it should be remembered that when Drury agreed to head the California parks, Governor Warren not only got a highly-principled administrator; he also got the Winston Churchill of conservation bureaucracies.

Amelia R. Fry
Interviewer-Editor

17 May 1974
Regional Oral History Office
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University of California at Berkeley

*Newton Bishop Drury, "Parks and Redwoods," (two volumes). 1972.

I. DRURY RECALLS EARL WARREN

Fry: Newt, as a classmate of Earl Warren's, and later as head of California's parks when he was governor, you probably have some impressions to record.

Drury: I think the world of him, and I owe a great deal to him. The state of California owes a great deal to him.

I don't remember very many episodes in my dealings with Earl that are worthy of chronicling. I have the correspondence that I had with him when I was in Washington. It's more or less inconsequential. Here it is. It says, "Important. This file constitutes a part of the official records of the National Park Service and should not be separated or withdrawn without express authority from the officials in charge. Signed: Newton" [laughter].

But I marked them very carefully as a duplicate. This was my personal file. I had a most wonderful secretary, Mrs. Nettie Benson, quite a few years ago. During the periods when I left Washington for the West and the Southwest, she had time to reorganize the files, and she made up all these duplicate files.

For what it's worth, you can have this if you want.

Fry: Oh sure, we'd like to have it.

Drury: "1948." I wrote him that we had confidential information that he and his sons were going to Alaska on a hunting trip. I wanted him to look over some of the national parks.

Fry: You mean just to see how the parks were faring?

Drury: Yes.

Drury: Do you know Helen McGregor [Secretary to Governor Earl Warren]?

Fry: Oh yes.

Drury: She's a very wonderful person. She can tell you more in a minute than I can about Earl Warren.

Fry: When you were corresponding with Earl Warren, who else primarily, in his office, did you deal with?

Drury: With "Pop" Small; yes, you know him. Merrell Farnham Small, the secretary who dealt with all the departments.

Fry: Was this when you were in Washington and Small and Governor Warren were in Sacramento?

Drury: No. This was when I was in Sacramento. I notice a lot of correspondence with Miss MacGregor--

One of the episodes that I remember happened during the five years I was in Chicago with the National Park Service. At that time we had our fracas about the Jackson Hole National Monument, which was added to Grand Teton National Park ultimately. I remember Earl Warren came through on his way to the governors' conference out in Wyoming, where Jackson Hole is located. Earl invited me to come and speak to the governors' conference. But when he got there he found that the Wyoming people were very averse to the idea of my appearing, so I never went.

Fry: So hostility was running high then, I guess, over the creation of the park.

Drury: Yes. This was in 1945.

In essence, Earl was always on our side, in everything.

Warren, by the way, is on our council of the Save-the-Redwoods League now.

Fry: Oh, did he accept?

Drury: Yes.

- Drury: Now, this file is my correspondence with him in the sixties.* I think I'd better hold this here for a while and winnow it out. I'll try to send you copies of anything I think is worthwhile.
- Fry: Okay. We'd like to build up our correspondence files on Earl Warren, so anything you can contribute to that would be a great help.
- Drury: I have another file at home; I'll bring that over. That file is about the Earl Warren Grove, which was established in Prairie Creek State Park when I was in Washington.*
- Fry: [Reading a letter from the 1960's Earl Warren file.] Let me identify this. It's a letter that Earl Warren wrote on March 11, 1968, saying that you can use his name in any way which will show his interest in the Redwood National Park. And he says that it's true that the present governor [Reagan] is still not friendly to the Redwood National Park and it is deplorable.
- Drury: Warren may really be more of a Democrat than he is a Republican, you know. Not that that's necessarily bad.
- Fry: [Laughter] I guess he didn't have to worry very much about party when he was here in California, did he?
- Drury: I remember one episode where I went down to Virginia with Governor Tuck of Virginia and Senator Byrd, the original Senator Byrd, where we all spoke at the dedication of a state park. Coming back, they had a phone in the auto (it was a state of Virginia car) and they got the news from California that Warren had been elected governor in the primaries, on both tickets, the Republican and Democrat. I spent the rest of the trip trying to explain to these two Virginia Democrats how the hell anybody could get both nominations. They said, "It doesn't look right to me!" [Laughter]

James Rolph, in one election, got the Democratic nomination, but he had registered as a Republican, so that disqualified him. Otherwise he would have been

*See Appendix.

Drury: governor. This happened about four years before he finally was elected.

Fry: You must have had some dealings with Earl Warren when he was attorney general and you were the land acquisition man for the state parks.

Drury: Yes. Nothing very epochal I think.

I have somewhere (I never throw anything away, that's my nemesis. Consequently I can't find anything.) a memorandum that he gave to me when he came back from the 1952 primaries in Wisconsin where, you remember, he got four or five votes for President. He was thinking about the class reunion on his return trip. I guess that was the fortieth reunion, which we had up there in Sacramento, of which I was the unfortunate general chairman. He had the whole thing charted out on a couple of cards as to what the program should be. It's quite an interesting document. I'll find it and send it to you.* I thought it was rather interesting that here was this man in the throes of running for President of the United States, who took the time out to make a note about the class reunion.

And I remember hearing him deliver the keynote address in Chicago when I was there. I guess Dewey was nominated that time, wasn't he?

Fry: Yes. In Chicago.

Drury: In 1944. The next day I saw him at the hotel.

I know we owe a great deal to him, along conservation lines, both in parks and forestry, but there's a paucity of concrete evidence of that. I'll scratch around and try to find something in these files.**

Fry: One of the things that I'm trying to get at is how effective communication was in those days between people

*Drury's notation of November 8, 1971: "Not yet found."

**See Appendices.

Fry: like you, as chief of a state agency, and "Pop" [Merrell E.] Small, representing the governor's office.

Drury: Well, as I've told you before, my dealings were almost entirely with Pop Small. I saw the Governor from time to time. I remember I saw him the day before he was appointed Chief Justice, out in the hall in front of the governor's office, and I said, "Congratualtions," and he said, "Well, you're a little premature." "Well," I said, "I'll just congratulate you on general principles." [Laughter] Next day he was appointed Chief Justice.

Fry: Was it pretty much general knowledge at that point?

Drury: I think it was just nip and tuck as to whether it was going to occur.

Fry: Well, why don't I just throw out some questions to you, and you see what you can remember to supplement your papers.

Did you take part in those monthly Council meetings, or would that have been "Swede" Nelson?

Drury: That was Swede Nelson, because he was Director of the Department of Natural Resources. I saw relatively little of the Governor, except in connection with personal matters.

Fry: You worked with state parks up to 1940, and then you were director of state parks beginning in 1951. Can you contrast the way they were set into the state administration, and how they functioned with the hierarchy, in the thirties as opposed to the fifties?

Drury: Well, in the thirties (the State Park Commission was established in 1927) while they were in the Department of Natural Resources, they were practically autonomous. They had the authority under the law not only to establish policy, but to approve expenditures and more or less direct the affairs of the state parks. My function with them was as their acquisition officer. In fact I have, and some time I'll send to the Bancroft Library, the report that I made when I left for Washington in 1940.

You've probably seen this. We spent just about

Drury: the total \$6,000,000 bond issue; this is Part 1 and Part 2 of the record of land acquisitions, which was my swan song in August, 1940. Of course, I never thought that I would be back in the state parks. But about the time--

Fry: It takes up two volumes; a ten or twelve year record.

Drury: I think that's the only copy. The state has lost one of them. That's more or less a unique record.

That's the schedule of all the bond sales and what the money was spent for and who put up the matching money, which in the northern part of the state was mostly from the Save-the-Redwoods League.

Fry: You have a lot of supplementary things in here too, like maps and your initial survey of the state for areas that should become state parks.

Drury: Yes. I think you have that, don't you?

Fry: Yes, the survey is already deposited in the Save-the-Redwoods League papers in the Bancroft.

Drury: Here's an editorial from the San Francisco Examiner, 1943, "The nation needs a western President. Every-where in the United States, there is a growing awareness of and rising interest in Governor Earl Warren. . . . All of the Pacific coast and western states should support Governor Warren and instruct their delegates for him."

Fry: And that was as early as '43.

Would you put on record your impression of Earl Warren as a college student?

Drury: Well, I think he attended to business a lot better than some of the rest of us, because I don't remember any very specific episodes.

Here are some notes that I gave Freeman Tilden in 1944. I said, "You asked what sort of a man Earl Warren is." This is from the San Francisco News of October 12, 1942. I'll give you this file, for whatever it is worth.

Drury: This is a "West Has Spoken." It's published by the Union Pacific Railroad. It has an article by Earl Warren in it.

Fry: That's April 4, 1943. It has a picture of his family.

Drury: There's a picture of the Earl Warren Grove up in Humboldt County, if you want it.

Fry: Oh, yes. The ranger last summer told me that they had to replace that sign that says "Earl Warren Grove" about once a month, because people would tear it down all the time, presumably in protest against the Warren court decisions. And then after he retired, this vandalism more or less subsided.

Drury: I think my brother Aubrey had, in a way, closer touch with Earl Warren than I did. You see, during the ten years I was in the East, he went up to Sacramento every so often. There may be in his papers somewhere some material.

Fry: Where are his papers? Are they in the Bancroft?

Drury: Well, I've sent a lot of them over.

II. DIFFERENCES WITH HAROLD ICKES AND OSCAR CHAPMAN

Fry: You may remember that Elmo Richardson, who is a professor up at the University of Washington came down to ask you more about Olympic Park?

Drury: Yes, and I gave him a lot of material.

Fry: This brought up the topic about Olympic Park being an issue in your retirement. The press shows Earl Warren came to your aid. Was there a charge by Ickes involved, or do I have two unrelated stories linked together?

Drury: No. I got along all right with Secretary Ickes until I moved to Chicago, and was five years more or less isolated there, sort of out of touch with him. He--well, he objected to the fact that we perforce took the position (and he was as responsible as anybody for establishing it) that if there was no other recourse toward winning the war, we might have to let certain outlying areas of the Olympic National Park go, and let the spruce, out of which they were then manufacturing airplanes for the army, be so used.

We busied ourselves in finding alternate sources of Sitka Spruce, and we found that in Alaska it was almost limitless, so that we never had to make that sacrifice. Mr. Ickes was less than candid. Long after he retired, at a time when I had my difficulties with Secretary Chapman, Ickes wrote a letter to the papers, which wasn't true at all, that I had capitulated on that. Or that I was willing to capitulate. I think he was a little unfair about that. But anyhow, Ickes had nothing to do with my retirement. He was out of the picture entirely, and Chapman was the Secretary of the Interior.

Fry: Was it before that that Ickes wanted a cabin in Acadia

Fry: National Park? And you were still Director of National Parks?

Drury: Yes. And I have--and I suppose some day you can have it--the correspondence from that.

After he retired, he embarrassed us very much by insisting that he still be allowed to use the cabin in Acadia. It was all right with me, but his successor, Secretary Krug, didn't want him to. I was out in Chicago and Secretary Krug one day wired me from Washington, asking what we should do with the residences in the park for which we had no immediate need. I knew what he was referring to, all right. He had this embarrassing request from Ickes.

So I wired back and said I thought that if they weren't used for government purposes, the houses should be destroyed. Whereupon Krug bundled up all of my correspondence with him, and sent it over to Ickes to sort of shove the onus on to me. [Laughter] That's the only real quarrel I had with Ickes, about anything. He wrote about a seven page letter to Krug and sent a copy to me, and to Chapman, who was then the Undersecretary, and to the Superintendent of Acadia National Park, a very intemperate letter. I see no reason why you shouldn't have a copy of it. It's an interesting human document in which he accused all of us of treachery toward him. Here he wanted use of a house similar to houses that rented for two or three thousand dollars a summer, and we didn't want to get into that business.

I was in Chicago, and Secretary Chapman called me and said, "Newton, the old gentleman" (he referred to Ickes) "wrote a letter to Secretary Krug and sent you a copy, but he's thought better of it and he'd like to have that back. Will you send it to me unopened?" So, it was right on my desk there, addressed to me personally, and I said, "Sure, I'll send it back to you." I didn't know for six months what was in it, until I went up to Acadia and I just happened to mention it to Ben Hedley, who was the superintendent. He said, "Oh, I have a copy of that letter." [Laughter]

Fry: And that's when you got a copy.

Drury: It was just a characteristically intemperate letter, from a man who was something like a spoiled child if

Drury: he didn't have his own way. In general, I had quite an admiration for Ickes. He was awfully smart. You didn't have to draw any diagrams for him.

Fry: Well, I guess if you have to tangle with him, it's good to tangle with him when he's out of power.

Drury: Apropos of the Ickes incident, I appreciate your sending me the clipping from the Oakland Tribune of Saturday, April 7, 1951, quoting Governor Warren. Shortly after that I thanked the Governor for his confidence in me.

"Governor Pays Tribute to New Chief of Parks"

"Governor Earl Warren today paid high tribute to Newton Drury, who is resigning as director of national parks to assume the post of chief of the California Division of Parks and Beaches on April 10.

"Warren's commendation of Drury, released at a press conference today, was in answer to former Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, who had charged Drury with "two instances" in which Ickes said Drury proved he "is not a good conservationist."

"Governor Warren said he had investigated Ickes' charges and found they did not involve the slightest reflection on Drury's integrity. He said he has known Drury since they attended the University of California together and believes he will advance conservation in California.

"The executive said he is "puzzled" by Ickes' protest. He noted that Ickes appointed Drury to the federal post, which he has held since.

"Eighteen conservation groups operating on a national scale recently presented Drury with a testimonial in appreciation of his service to the Interior Department, his high ideals, and his activity in conserving national resources.

"The group included the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, American Forestry Association, American Museum of Natural History, American Nature Association, American Planning and Civic Association, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Izaak Walton League of America, National Audubon Society, National Parks

Drury: Association, National Wildlife Federation, Save the Redwoods League, Smithsonian Institution, Society of American Forestation, Conservation Foundation, Nature Conservatory, Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, and Wildlife Management Institute."

About Ickes--that's the only thing I remember. I had no quarrel with Chapman. Chapman would have given away everything he had, lock, stock and barrel. I remember Dr. Richardson asked me what was Chapman's motivation, and I said you couldn't dignify anything that Chapman thought by calling it motivation. He didn't have enough edge on his mind to be motivated. He was recognized as a very inferior government official. He should never have been Secretary of the Interior, but he got that because he took six months off and campaigned for Truman, who, you remember, just squeaked in at the election against Dewey in 1948.

Fry: Sometime you're going to have to write that book you mentioned on "Wild Animals I have Known." Meantime--thanks for recording your recollections about Secretaries of the Interior and your Chief Justice friend. We'll put some of the correspondence in the appendix.

Mr. Butcher
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APPENDIX I: Prairie Creek Freeway Issue, Correspondence 1964

MERRELL FARNHAM SMALL . . . 3020 SEVENTEENTH STREET - SACRAMENTO ~~10~~, CALIFORNIA 95818

March 28, 1964

Newton B. Drury, Esq.
Save the Redwoods
114 Sansome Street
San Francisco 4 California

Dear Newt:

The enclosed arrived Thursday. I know you be as delighted with it as I was.

I would be tempted to ask the Governor if he would be willing to be quoted. What do you think?

Best regards,

2
102

Tom Kuchel asked me to call on some of the newspaper publishers around the State. I leave Monday on a two-week swing in Southern California.

P.P.S. I see Pat Brown made the trip to the redwoods this week. Dwight O'Dell, with whom I was speaking by telephone on the Rockefeller matter, told me about it even before it appeared in the Sacramento papers. He said a number of Humboldt county people were trying to make contact.

cc: Mr. Chanay
Mr. Starr
Mr. Howard
Mr. Leonard
Mr. Albright
Mr. Rudolphson
Mr. Butcher

RECEIVED

MAR 30 1964

SAVE THE REDWOODS LEAGUE

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S. F. News Call Bulletin ☆☆☆ Mon., Mar. 30, 1964

Brown Vows to Save Redwoods

SACRAMENTO — (UPI) — "So far as I as governor am concerned, not a single redwood will be destroyed to build a freeway," Gov. Edmund G. Brown pledged today.

Brown made a one-day tour of standing redwoods and slashed areas in northwestern California Friday before his trip was cut short by the Crescent City disaster.

HE TERMED the slashed areas that have been logged for lumber a "desecration."

The trip arose from an uproar over plans of highway builders to route a main coastal highway either through redwoods or along a wild beach.

Brown told the Governor's Council he does not know what route should be chosen. But he said it is "sacreligious" to mow down venerable redwoods.

He said he intends to talk with Robert Bradford, administrator of the Highway

way Transportation Agency, about the problem.

BROWN also suggested finding a way of acquiring scenic corridors so that trees can remain standing alongside highways, even where lumber companies logged farther back.

He said that while he does not want to see redwoods felled for freeways, some other trees might have to go.

Brown Vows To Save Redwoods

SF Chronicle
Sacramento 3/31/64

Governor Edmund G. Brown said yesterday it would be "sacreligious" to cut down California's giant redwood trees for a freeway.

He led off a monthly meeting of the Governor's council with this promise:

"As long as I am Governor in California not a single, solitary redwood will be cut down for a freeway."

Brown, who toured the north coast redwood area last week, said "I'm getting letters from all over the United States" protesting the proposed route of a freeway between Arcata and Crescent City that would cut through redwood groves.

He said the State might "buy a scenic easement" along the path of the freeway.

"We can't buy it all," he said, "but we'll buy easements along the road."

This would save redwoods on land acquired by easement, he said.

Associated Press

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XERO COPY

Mr. Butcher

(COPY)

14



Save-the-Redwoods League

TREASURER: DR. ROBERT G. SPROUL

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY • 114 SANSOME STREET, SAN FRANCISCO • 4

April 2, 1964

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*Directors

Hon. Merrell Farnham Small
3020 17th Street
Sacramento, California 95818

Dear Pop:

It was your idea, so the original goes back to you. Enclosed.

Also enclosed is my note to Earl, and the quote from the Governor. He is entitled to a word of commendation.

See you soon.

As ever,

Newton B. Drury

NBD:bc

Enc: Original letter - Earl Warren to "Pop and Newt" March 23, 1964

NBD to Hon. Earl Warren 4/2/64

Clipping S. F. Chronicle 3/31/64, S. F. News Bulletin 3/30/64

cc: Dr. Chaney with encls. and Hon. Small to NBD March 28, 1964

Mr. Starr	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Mr. Howard	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Mr. Leonard	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Mr. Albright	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Mr. Duddleson	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Mr. Butcher	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

OBJECTS

1. To rescue from destruction representative areas of our primeval forests.
2. To co-operate with the California State Park Commission, and other agencies, in establishing Redwood parks and other parks and reservations.
3. To purchase Redwood groves by private subscription.
4. To co-operate with the California State Highway Commission, and other agencies in assuring the preservation of trees and roadside beauty along highways.
5. To support reforestation and conservation of our forest areas.

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XERO

XERO

Mr. Butcher

(COPY)

15



Save-the-Redwoods League

TREASURER: DR. ROBERT G. SPOUL

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY • 114 SANSOME STREET, SAN FRANCISCO • 4

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2. To co-operate with the California State Park Commission, and other agencies, in establishing Redwood parks and other parks and reservations.
3. To purchase Redwood groves by private subscription.
4. To co-operate with the California State Highway Commission, and other agencies in assuring the preservation of trees and roadside beauty along highways.
5. To support reforestation and conservation of our forest areas.

Hon. Earl Warren
Chambers of the Chief Justice
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Earl:

Both "Pop" Small and I were pleased to get your note of March 23.

You will be interested in Governor Brown's statement on Redwoods vs Freeways given in the enclosed clipping. The League has wired the Governor congratulating him on his stand. To construct a freeway anywhere but along the eastern ridge would destroy the integrity of Prairie Creek Redwoods State Park and would be a serious breach of trust. I am enclosing a map showing the 83 memorial groves in the park.

You may wish to write the Governor.

As ever,

Newton B. Drury

NBD:bc

Enc: Clipping S. F. Chronicle 3/31/64, S. F. News Call Bulletin 3/30/64
Prairie Creek Memorial Grove map Dec. 1, 1963

cc: Dr. Chaney without encs.

Mr. Starr

Mr. Howard

Mr. Leonard

Mr. Albright

Mr. Duddleson

Mr. Small

Mr. Butcher

(for encs. see NBD to "Pop" Small 4/2/64)

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H. P. C. Freeway

16

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D. C. 20543

CHAMBERS OF
THE CHIEF JUSTICE

April 20, 1964

RECEIVED

APR 22 1964

SAVE THE REDWOODS LEAGUE

Mr. Newton B. Drury,
Save-the-Redwoods League,
114 Sansome Street,
San Francisco 4, California.

Dear Newt:

I was delighted to receive your letter of April 2nd and to learn of the stand taken by the Governor in regard to the preservation of the redwoods. I have written him a letter concerning it, and am enclosing a copy for your information.

I do hope that the Governor's sound position will prevail. We need highways, of course, but not to the extent which would result in the destruction of one of our greatest natural resources.

Hoping to see you the next time you are in Washington and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Paul

*cc: Mr. Drury
Mr. Allen Smith*

V.S.

*cc: Mr. Drury
Mr. Allen Smith
Mr. Drury
Mr. Drury
Mr. Drury
Mr. Drury
Mr. Drury
Mr. Drury
Mr. Drury
Mr. Drury*

*And thanks for the picture of the
Barren Grove. It makes me home-
sick.*

Paul

C
O
P
Y

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D.C.

April 21, 1964

CHAMBERS OF
THE CHIEF JUSTICE

RECEIVED

APR 22 1964

Honorable Edmund G. Brown,
Governor of California,
Sacramento, California.

SAVE THE REDWOODS LEAGUE

My dear Governor:

I always read your statements with great pleasure and satisfaction, but recently I have seen none which thrilled me as much as the following which appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle:

"As long as I am Governor in California not a single, solitary redwood will be cut down for a freeway."

Not only Californians but the people of the world will be the beneficiaries of that policy for centuries to come. It is typical of your outlook on such matters, and I was delighted to read it.

I talked to Jerry a few days ago. He wanted me to make a speech for the students of his Law School, but unfortunately I could not accept because of the double duty I am engaged in at the present time.

I hope this finds you and the family well.

Sincerely,

(Signed) EARL WARREN

cc: Mrs. T. J. [unclear]
Mrs. [unclear] [unclear] 6-4-64

cc: Mr. Charles [unclear]
Mr. George [unclear] 4-21-64
Mr. T. A. [unclear]
Mr. Alan [unclear]
[unclear] 5-4-64

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

ADDRESS ONLY
THE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

~~101 WASHINGTON~~
CHICAGO

December 14, 1942.

Honorable Earl Warren,
c/o The Attorney General's Office,
State Office Building,
San Francisco, California.

Dear Earl:

One of the compensations of advancing years is increased ability to address important dignitaries by their first names without its seeming forced.

As I rode the train from my home in Glencoe to my office in the Merchandise Mart this morning, I read the interview with the new Governor of my native state, in which he outlined his primary objectives. I was particularly impressed with, one, the spirit of tolerance shown therein and, two, your thought as to planning for the peace that will follow the war.

I could not well have spent the best years of my life in dealing with the conservation of important resources in California, including the major item of the beauty of the native landscape, without feeling that I have a stake in your plans for California's future. Besides, as far as national parks are concerned California is one of the major states of the Union, and in our field federal interests and state interests are closely interlocked.

I suppose it is only natural that a number of people in California who aspire to be in the picture so far as parks and forestry are concerned should have written me recently asking me to intercede with you on their behalf with respect to appointments. Some of them have gone so far as to say that on a matter of this sort my recommendation to you would be well nigh conclusive. If this were so it would represent a grave responsibility. Without my telling you, I am sure that you know that I indicated my willingness to advise in case such advice were desired by you. As a matter of fact I still adhere to the belief that I entertained when in California that this is the only basis on which a federal official would be justified in interposing in state affairs.

It might well be that before long you will be travelling east and if so will have an interval between trains in Chicago. It would give me great pleasure if you could so budget your time that it would be possible for you to call at my office where I should be glad if you wish to discuss with you some phases of matters in California in which we are both interested. Or

if you can not do that if you will let me know when you are coming I will meet you at the train. Failing that I hope before so very long to be back in sunny California for a brief spell and with your permission will call upon you.

With best regards and wishing you well as you embark on your new responsibility, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) Newton

Newton B. Drury,
Director.

CC Mr. Aubrey Drury

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D. C.
October 16, 1961

CHAMBERS OF
THE CHIEF JUSTICE

Mr. Newton B. Drury,
822 Mendocino Avenue,
Berkeley, California.

Dear Newt:

My secretary told me of your recent telephone call, and I am very sorry that I wasn't able to take it myself as I was out of the city at the time.

I am interested in our 50th Reunion, and will make every effort to attend. Our Court Term does not end until about the first of July, and I suppose that would be too late for it. However, I would like to come earlier. If you will let me know within what range of dates the Reunion might be held, I will endeavor to find a date which will be more available for me than others might be. I trust that all of us who are still around will be able to attend whenever it is held.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Earl", written in a cursive style.



Governor Earl Warren on tour of northern section of Redwood Empire with the California Highway Commission. Left to right: Homer P. Brown, Placerville; C. Arnholt Smith, San Diego; James A. Guthrie, San Bernardino; C. H. Purcell, Director of Public Works and chairman of Commission; Governor Warren; Chester H. Warlow, Fresno; Harrison R. Baker, Pasadena, and Walter Sandelin, Ukiah

pt. - October, 1945

Governor Wants Redwoods Saved

ON A TOUR of the northern section of the Redwood Empire Governor Earl Warren on September 25th and 26th viewed at first hand the highway needs and the State parks and beaches in Mendocino, Humboldt and Del Norte counties.

The Governor was accompanied on his trip by all the members of the California Highway Commission, State Highway Engineer George T. McCoy, members and officers of the State Park Commission and officials of the Redwood Empire Association and of the three counties visited.

In addresses at Ukiah, Eureka and Crescent City, Governor Warren placed emphasis on the duty of the State to coordinate future highway development in the Redwood Empire with the necessity for preserving the magnificent redwood trees for posterity and the improvement of State parks and beach facilities in the area. He

shared this ambition with Chairman Joseph R. Knowland of the State Park Commission and Director of Public Works C. H. Purcell, who is also chairman of the California Highway Commission.

More than 400 persons attended a banquet which was given in the municipal auditorium in Eureka on Wednesday night, September 26th in honor of the Governor. In talks at luncheons at Ukiah and Crescent City, the Governor spoke briefly and emphatically on the theme of protecting the redwoods and developing parks and beaches but made his principal address in Eureka. Introduced at the banquet by Past President Paul Mudgett of the Redwood Empire Association, the Governor discussed the postwar problems which confront California.

"We can not make prosperity through Government jobs," he said. "the big job in our State is to provide

employment for more than 2,000,000 persons who have come here during the war and who will for the most part remain here. Private enterprise must take care of these. We must solve our problems through cooperation and tolerance. We must develop our resources to provide such employment.

"Our State Government has been making preparations for the reconversion. More than \$300,000,000 of State funds have been saved up for postwar work and this money will be expended to build permanent improvements on our highways, at our State institutions, in our State parks and on our splendid beaches. These must be jobs of all kinds provided. It looks like a big task but I am not in any way pessimistic. California has met other large problems and we will meet this one."

In addresses to audiences at Ukiah, Crescent City and Eureka, Chairman Purcell said that the State is ready to



Joseph R. Knowland, Oakland, chairman of the California State Park Commission, points to one of majestic redwood trees which line U. S. 101 in the heart of the redwood belt. On his right are State Highway Engineer George T. McCoy, C. H. Purcell, chairman of the Highway Commission, and Governor Warren

take up where it left off almost four years ago the development of the State Highway System. He announced that the Highway Commission has launched its \$115,000,000 postwar highway building program by allocating, approximately \$49,000,000 to designated projects which will be advertised for bids prior to June 30, 1946. He said some projects in the postwar program will be advertised for construction this fall and that once started the advertising for bids and the letting of contracts will proceed in an orderly manner and be carried on continuously consistent with the ability of the road construction industry to keep abreast of the program.

Mr. Purcell said that highway and bridge projects within the Redwood Empire and which are included in the initial program of the Division of Highways will total \$14,193,300.

While highways, parks and beaches were given major consideration by

Governor Warren, Mr. Purcell and Mr. Knowland, the Governor took occasion at the Ukiah luncheon to mention the Mendocino State Hospital and to praise Senator George M. Biggar, of Covelo, and Assemblyman Michael J. Burns, of Eureka, for their interest in State highways, State parks and governmental problems generally.

"I have never thought that Mendocino had the proper maximum security institution for mental cases," the Governor declared. "I believe we should handle menace cases in a special hospital and this is a problem to which we will give serious consideration."

The Highway Commission and the State Park Commission met the Governor at Ukiah where a luncheon was tendered by the Ukiah Chamber of Commerce at the Palace Hotel, with Superior Judge Lilburn Gibson presiding, after which the Mendocino board of supervisors conducted the official caravan to Hartsook where the

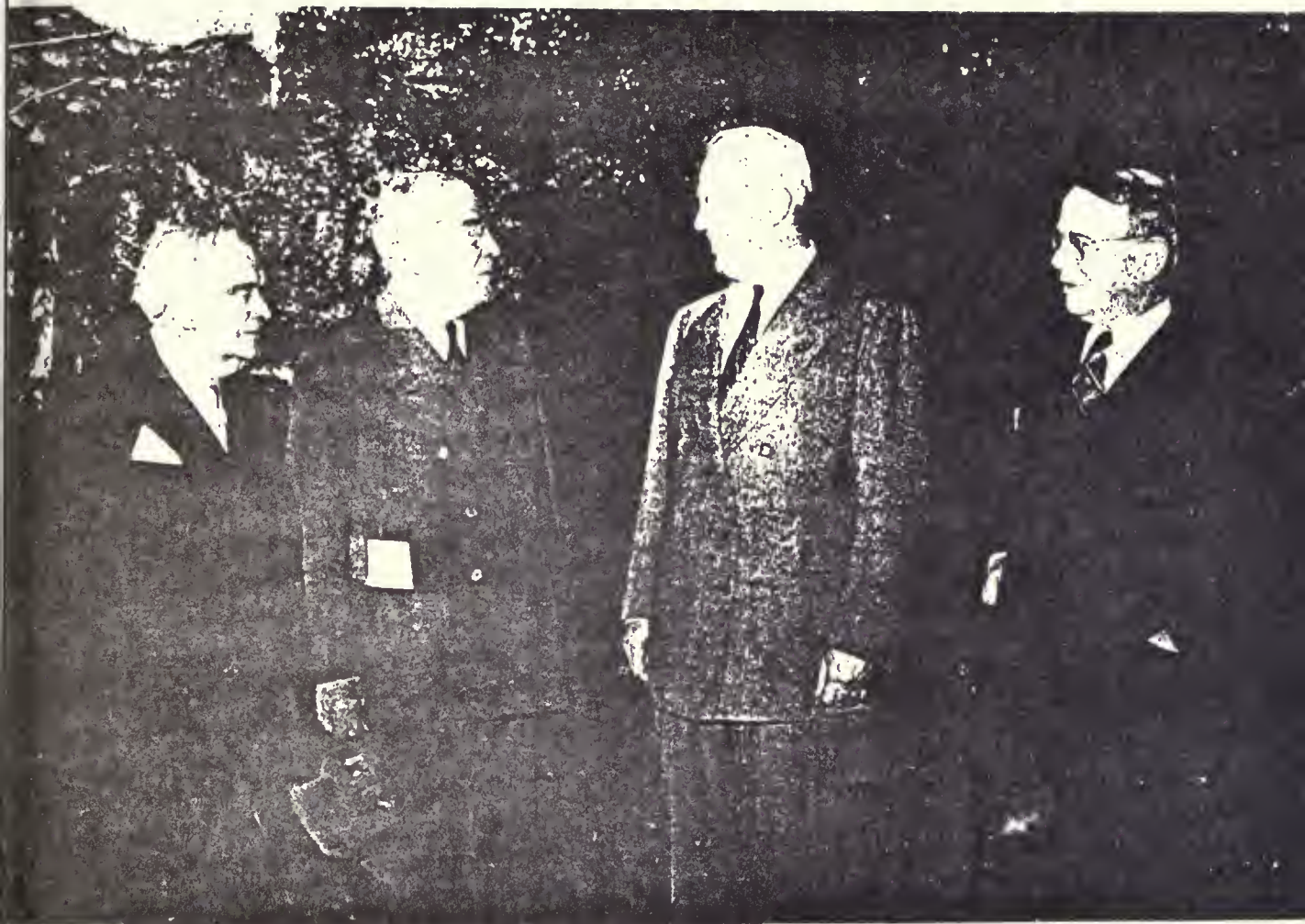
Humboldt board of supervisors took over as guide. Pausing at various redwood groves, the Governor and his party drove to Scotia for an overnight stop.

On Wednesday the caravan proceeded from Scotia to Crescent City in Del Norte County.

The Del Norte board of supervisors greeted the party at the Humboldt-Del Norte County line and after a brief stop at Wilson Creek beach the caravan was escorted to Hotel Lauff in Crescent City where the chamber of commerce was host at luncheon. President Errol Winn of the Chamber

(Continued on page 31)

Scenes like the one on the opposite page, a section of the Redwood Highway in Humboldt County, are what Governor Warren desires the State of California to preserve for all time



Governor Warren and Members of the State Park Commission pause while touring the Redwood Empire. Left to right: Isadore Dockweiler, Los Angeles; Joseph R. Knowland, chairman of Commission; the Governor, and Charles Kasch, Ukiah

Governor Earl Warren Wants Redwoods Preserved for Posterity

(Continued from page 2)

presided. Before returning to Eureka Inn the party made a tour of Fort Dick and Mill Creek via the Pebble Beach Drive, viewing the Peacock Hill highway alignment.

The Humboldt County Board of Trade was in charge of arrangements for the Governor's banquet in Eureka. Elmer P. McKenzie of the Redwood Empire Association acted as master of ceremonies. Fred Anderson, chairman of the board of supervisors, welcomed the Governor and the other visitors on behalf of the county and Mayor John Ryan of Eureka performed a similar service for the city.

In addition to Governor Warren and Mr. Purcell, Senator Irwin Quinn, H. L. Rick, Chairman of the State Fish and Game Commission, Mr. Knowland, and Charles Kasch of the Park Commission, George C. Hoberg, President of the Redwood Empire Association,

and Richard Fleischer made brief talks.

Accompanying Mr. Purcell on the tour were the following members of the Highway Commission:

Homer P. Brown, Placerville; Chester H. Warlow, Fresno; Harrison R. Baker, Pasadena; James A. Guthrie, San Bernardino; Walter Sandelin, Ukiah, and C. Arnholt Smith, San Diego, and George N. Cook, secretary.

State Highway Engineer McCoy was accompanied by Colonel John H. Skeggs, District Highway Engineer at San Francisco, and District Highway Engineer A. M. Nash of Eureka.

With Chairman Knowland were Park Commissioners Isadore Dockweiler, Los Angeles, and Charles Kasch, Ukiah; A. E. Henning of Sacramento, Chief of the Division of Parks, and John H. Covington, Executive Secretary of the Commission.

General Warren Hannum, Director of Natural Resources, and Colonel E. C. Kelton, Beach Erosion Engineer of the Park Commission, were members of Mr. Knowland's party.

The Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District was represented by Edward A. Kenney, San Francisco, and James E. Rickets, General Manager.

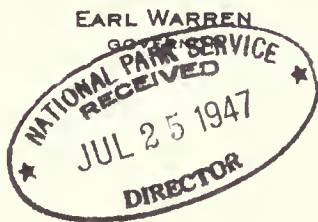
Arrangements for the tour were made by Mr. Hoberg, President, Valerie Kuhn, Manager, and Marsh Maslin, Publicity Director, of the Redwood Empire Association.



State of California
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
SACRAMENTO

Perme File

June 19, 1947



Honorable Newton B. Drury
Director
National Park Service
Department of the Interior
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Newt:

Miss MacGregor showed me your
letter of June 12.

We were all mighty sorry that
you could not be with us for the 1912
Reunion. It was a great day and Mrs. Warren
and I enjoyed every minute of it.

I am glad to hear that you will
be in California during July and hope
that sometime during that period, in spite
of a schedule that will require me to be
in several different places during the
month, I shall have the opportunity to
see you.

I hope to be at the Grove
encampment for a few days, at least, and
trust I may see you there.

Sincerely,

Earl

EW:gc

Newt:

*This was dictated before
I saw you at the Alumni Convention*
Earl

June 30, 1949

Honorable Earl Warren
Governor of California
Capitol Building
Sacramento, California

My dear Governor:

The desire of the people to preserve forever large areas of the best stands of Northern Coast redwoods in a system of State Parks, culminated in the creation of the State Park Commission in 1927, and the authorization of a State Park bond issue of \$6,000,000 in the following year.

This determination on the part of the public to preserve forever the best of these matchless forests is further accented by the fact that through the generosity of its many thousands of members and friends, Save-the-Redwoods League has contributed to the State of California more than \$5,000,000 to make possible the acquisition of these forests. The donors of these funds made their contributions in the confident belief that under the assurance of existing law and the good faith of the State of California, these forests, including the many groves established as memorials to departed loved ones, would be preserved and protected by the State of California inviolate in their natural and wilderness state.

It is my opinion that Senate Bill No. 577 violates and repudiates the protective provisions relating to access roads in the existing law. Under the present law the Park Commission has the right and power to grant such rights-of-way under appropriate circumstances. I further believe that the new bill undermines and weakens the power and authority of the Park Commission to guard and protect

Hon. Earl Warren

- 2 -

June 30, 1949

the parks that have come under its administration. It overturns the old concept of the right of Eminent Domain. Here an agency of the State of California is told that it shall grant access roads across State Park lands under certain conditions. In my opinion this is entirely wrong in principle.

Had the Park Commission not acquired these redwood parks for the benefit and enjoyment of the people, the lands would today be owned by individuals or corporations, and rights-of-way could not be forced across these lands by adjoining or nearby timber owners. In this bill we are granting to adjoining loggers and lumbermen rights in regard to access roads over lands owned by the State of California that they do not have under law against private owners in the same circumstances. Does this not seem ironical and unjust?

To protect and preserve the natural undergrowth, camping by the public has been forbidden by the Park Commission in many of the more beautiful groves, yet Senate Bill No. 577 could be the means by which a logging or truck road could be forced through a grove in which the public, in order to protect and preserve their heritage in these redwood parks, is very properly denied the privilege of camping.

The State Parks have been administered by successive park commissions for more than twenty years under the provisions of existing law with reference to access roads. Permits for many such

Hon. Earl Warren

- 3 -

June 30, 1949

access roads have been granted by various commissions under appropriate circumstances and with proper safeguards. Senate Bill No. 577 was prompted and promoted to benefit a piece of timber adjoining Humboldt Redwood State Park lands. The direct and more economical route to harvest the timber from this land lies through one of the most beautiful groves in the entire park system. Should these ageless groves be subjected to the devastation and destruction of a logging road to place a few more dollars in the pocket of some lumber or logging operator? Should a very few loggers and lumbermen be given privileges and rights transcending those of all the people?

I respectfully urge, Mr. Governor, that you, in the interest of the people of the State of California and really of the entire Nation, and of these citizens whose generous contributions made the purchase of these redwood parks possible, not approve this bill.

Respectfully,

Arthur E. Connick

AEC:EM

cc - Mr. Aubrey Drury

NEWTON B. DRURY
822 MENDOCINO AVENUE
BERKELEY 7, CALIFORNIA

September 30, 1963.

Dear Earl:

When you and I sat on the Senior Bench (illegally) in August, 1968, I little thought that I was beside the future Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

It wouldn't have made much difference to either of us then; but it makes a lot of difference now. The Class of 1912, through you, has had the capstone put upon its career.

At the Nat'l Education I was happy to be able to say that under your leadership our association has had its Golden Age in California.

Respectfully,

Newton B. Drury

February 2, 1954

Hon. Earl Warren
Chief Justice
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Chief Justice:

Long before this I should have dropped you a line to thank you for the cordial reception you gave me when I appeared at the Supreme Court last December. I have told many of our mutual friends about it, not excluding many members of the great Class of 1912. I flew back from Washington with Arch Tinning, and he, too, was very much elated to have had the opportunity to see you and talk over old times. There is a note of tragedy there, in that Arch had a severe nervous breakdown soon after he returned and I have not yet heard that he has recovered. We are all hoping for his speedy come-back.

As I said good-bye to you, I mentioned my good friend Hillory A. Tolson, who during my ten years as Director of the National Park Service, was one of the Assistant Directors. He is an attorney and licensed to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States. While I know he would not want to burden you unduly, I hope that some time he can drop in and that you can get to know him. I found him an extremely valuable colleague during my administration of the National Parks.

All of us out here are hoping that you are finding great joy in your new responsibilities and that they are not wearing you down. I know that Mrs. Drury would want to join me in warmest regards to you and Mrs. Warren.

With best regards as ever, I am,

Sincerely yours,

NEWTON B. DRURY

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D. C.
March 17, 1958

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CHAMBERS OF
THE CHIEF JUSTICE

CC Commission - 7
Director
Mr. M.F. Small
Mr. Calais
3/20/58

Honorable Newton B. Drury,
Chief, Division of Beaches and Parks,
Department of Natural Resources,
1125 Tenth Street,
Sacramento, California.

Dear Newt:

The picture of the Calaveras South Grove is magnificent, and I am greatly indebted to all of you for your generosity in sending it to me. It is in my library at home where I can always enjoy it.

Because it will be commented on by everyone who sees it, I would like to know the approximate ages of these trees if such an estimate has been made.

I was interested to read recently that some little old scrub pines up in Inyo County are claiming seniority rights over our Redwoods. Whether this is true or not, I am of the opinion after seeing the picture in the papers that the people will not take them to their hearts as they have our Sequoias.

I have intended to write you long before this to let you know how much I enjoyed the 1912 Reunion. It was wonderful to see all of those old friends and to see how well they all looked. I was shocked, however, to learn very recently that Bill Forker had passed on. He certainly looked healthy at the Reunion.

With best wishes to you and all of our mutual friends, I am

Sincerely,



(C O P Y)



Save-the-Redwoods League

TREASURER: DR. ROBERT G. SPROUL UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY • 114 SANSOME STREET, SAN FRANCISCO 94104

TELEPHONE • 362-2352

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Directors

8

OBJECTS

1. To rescue from destruction representative areas of our primeval forests
2. To co-operate with the California State Park Commission, the National Park Service, and other agencies, in establishing Redwood parks and other parks and reservations
3. To purchase Redwood groves by private subscription
4. To co-operate with the California State Highway Commission, and other agencies in assuring the preservation of trees and roadside beauty along highways
5. To support reforestation and conservation of our forest areas.

November 4, 1968

Hon. Earl Warren
Chambers of The Chief Justice
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D.C. 20543

Dear Earl:

It was kind of you to write as you did on October 30, and most generous of you to send the pen from the ceremony of the President's signing of the Redwood National Park Bill. I accept it on behalf of the entire Save-the-Redwoods League, whose work has been a composite effort of many extending back for half a century.

Our Alma Mater had a leading part in the organization of the League in 1918. Benjamin Ide Wheeler was one of the original incorporators. Bob Sproul has been Treasurer from the beginning. Distinguished alumni like Stephen Mather, Horace Albright, Herm. Phleger, Dick Leonard, Will Colby, Duncan McDuffie and many others, as well as faculty members like John C. Merriam and Ralph Chaney, now President of the League, have contributed to its success.

Stanford helped, too, through Ray Lyman Wilbur and Charles B. Wing. I have already acknowledged to you our appreciation of your constant support, as Attorney General, Governor, and as a trustee of the National Geographic Society. Dr. Gilbert Grosvenor was one of our founders. Mel Grosvenor is on our Council.

There are others whom I should mention. You can see why Aubrey and I appreciated being in this distinguished company, aside from realizing from the beginning that the cause was well worth serving. I feel privileged to have had a part in it in these latter years.

With best regards,

As ever,

Newton B. Drury

NBD:f

Copy to: Dr. Chaney (with cc. incoming letter)

Mr. Leonard "
Mr. Albright "
Mr. Phleger "

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Rosemary Levenson

Grew up in England; B.A. in History from Cambridge University, 1948. Graduate work in History and International Law at Cambridge and Radcliffe. M.A. in Sociology at the University of California Berkeley in 1969.

Moved to Berkeley in 1951 and worked as free-lance editor and anthropological photographer. Volunteer service in groups related to the public schools, religion, and University of California faculty wives.

Travel in Europe and the Far East. Joined the staff of the Regional Oral History Office in 1970.

Amelia R. Fry

Graduated from the University of Oklahoma, B.A. in psychology and English, M.A. in educational psychology and English, University of Illinois; additional work, University of Chicago, California State University at Hayward.

Instructor, freshman English at University of Illinois and at Hiram College. Reporter, suburban daily newspaper, 1966-67.

Interviewer, Regional Oral History Office, 1959--; conducted interview series on University history, woman suffrage, the history of conservation and forestry, public administration and politics. Director, Earl Warren Era Oral History Project, documenting governmental/political history of California 1925-1953; director, Goodwin Knight-Edmund G. Brown Era Project.

Author of articles in professional and popular journals; instructor, summer Oral History Institute, University of Vermont, 1975, 1976, and oral history workshops for Oral History Association and historical agencies; consultant to other oral history projects; oral history editor, Journal of Library History, 1969-1974; secretary, the Oral History Association, 1970-1973.

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